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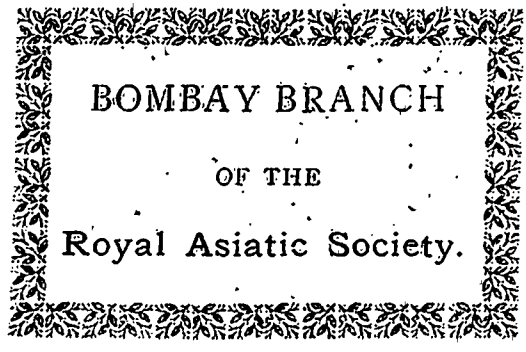

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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

Literary Society of Bombay.

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

IN

SCOTLAND:

WITH

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AN INTRODUCTORY BOOK, AND AN APPENDIX.

BY

GEORGE COOK, D. D.

MINISTER OF LAURENCEKIRK,

AND AUTHOR OF AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GENERAL EVIDENCE ESTABLISHING THE REALITY OF CHRIST'S RESURRECTION.

Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ.—Hor.

VOLUME THIRD.

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HISTORY

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VOL. III.

HISTORY

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1560.

THE sanction given by parliament to the confession of faith, and to the acts which were passed against the ancient religion, may be considered as the foundation upon which the establishment of the reformation in Scotland rests. That revolution was thus confirmed by the most numerous assembly of the nobility, barons, and commissioners of boroughs, which had ever been held—by an assembly authorized by a treaty most solemnly framed. Its resolutions were in harmony with the sentiments of the great majority of the people; and although, from its connection with stipulations most offensive to the queen, and to her husband, it was never formally recognized by the sovereign—although no place is given to its decrees amongst the printed acts of the different parliaments, yet its decisions, with regard to religion, were confirmed by the tacit acquiescence of Mary, and were afterwards re-enacted, at the commencement of her son's reign.

Perilous state of the reformation in Scotland.

The history may now therefore be considered as arrived at the period, at which the protestant faith had obtained a decided triumph; but still that

faith rested upon most unstable ground. It was surrounded with dangers, and its escape from these dangers is little less remarkable than the victory which it had acquired. As its existence and progress were materially influenced by the political events which marked the history of Scotland, its continuance was secured by the policy and interests of different princes, and by a series of incidents which, in the prosecution of this work, shall be accurately detailed. CHAP. XIX. 1560.

The fears of its zealous adherents were awakened almost immediately after the decisive measures by which they had laboured to give permanence to its influence. The treaty of Edinburgh, which they regarded as the charter of their liberty, as the fruit of the arduous struggle in which they had so long been engaged, was cheerfully ratified by Elizabeth. But when she solicited the ratification of Francis and Mary, they, in express opposition to the powers which they had granted to their commissioners, refused their consent, alleging, as the reason of their refusal, that the Queen of England had, at Berwick, entered into a treaty with their rebellious subjects *. Sept. 2d.

As the existence of this treaty was known to them before they dispatched the bishop of Valence, and the statesmen who accompanied him, to

* Camden's Annals, p. 59, 60. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XV. amongst the acts inserted in that work, relating to Mary Queen of Scotland.

CHAP. XIX. 1560.

negotiate with the ministers of Elizabeth, that princess could regard this pretext only as a clear indication that they did not intend to act with sincerity; while the reception which they gave to Sir James Sandilands, left little doubt, amongst their own subjects, that they would embrace the first opportunity of renewing the war in Scotland, which the embarrassment, occasioned by the situation of the French dominions, alone had induced them to suspend.

Situation of Mary after the death of her husband.

The death of Francis dissipated, in some degree, the anxiety which had been excited, and that event certainly was in the highest degree favourable to the peace of Scotland. It reduced Mary to a condition in which her influence was infinitely less powerful than it had been during the life of her husband; and a very short time only had elapsed, before it became evident that, under the new reign, little inclination was felt to carry into execution the schemes which she had formed. The queen dowager, a woman of the most unbounded ambition and the most furious passions, had viewed with the utmost jealousy, envy, and indignation, the ascendancy which the beauty, the accomplishments, and the talents of his queen had acquired over the feeble mind of Francis; and she had no sooner, in consequence of his dissolution, regained the direction of affairs, than she acted towards her daughter-in-law with a degree of coldness, or of contempt,

which wounded her pride, and aggravated her sorrow *.

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She soon determined to withdraw from a court so painfully reminding her of magnificence, dignity, and adulation, which were now gone for ever; and having retired to the residence of one of her uncles, she deliberated upon the expediency, or necessity, of returning to her dominions †. As the power of the house of Guise was now abridged, or annihilated, her uncles felt no anxiety that she should remain in France; they even advised her to visit Scotland, and they pointed out to her that line of conduct which, in their estimation, she should, after her arrival, scrupulously follow ‡.

She resolves to return to Scotland.

Upon receiving intelligence of the French king's death, the council in Scotland summoned a convention of the nobility to meet at Edinburgh, for considering the measures which, in consequence of that event, it would be prudent to adopt. In that convention it was unanimously resolved, that the Lord James should be sent to France, to condole with his sister upon the severe loss which she had sustained; to entreat that she should reside in her own

Jan. 15. Convention at Edinburgh.

Embassy of the prior.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 415. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 29. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 327. Memoires de Michel Castelnau, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 454, 455.

† Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. X. p. 531. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 30, 81. Castelnau, as last quoted. Keith, B. ii. chap. i. p. 160, note.

‡ Castelnau, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 455. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 19. Buchanan, p. 327.

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1561. dominions: to express the joy which her resolution to do so would communicate to all her subjects; and to convey to her the most unequivocal assurances of the steady loyalty with which the protestants would support her throne *. They could not, however, conceal the fears which the queen's avowed attachment to the popish faith had occasioned. Some of the most zealous insisted, that the prior should not betray the protestant cause, by consenting that she should celebrate mass; but while he expressed his resolution to prevent any public expressions of reverence for what he detested as idolatry, he had the good sense, and, for the time in which he lived, the liberality and the moderation to declare, that he would aquiesce in no resolution, having for its object to take from his sovereign the privilege of enjoying in private the free exercise of her own religion †. While the friends of the reformation were thus endeavouring to secure the favour of the queen, the opposite party were no less active. The Earl of Huntly, who had again avowed his attachment to the religion of his fathers, the Earls of Crawford, Atholl, Sutherland, the bishops of Ross and Murray, with many other eminent clergy and laity, met, with the utmost secrecy, and dispatched Leslie, of whom mention

Activity of the popish party.

* Knox's History, B. iii. p. 262. Spottswoode, B. iii. p. 151. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 532.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Keith, B. ii. chap. i. p. 157.

had been already made, to explain their views to their sovereign—to offer to her their services and their allegiance *. CHAP. XIX. 1561.

Both the ambassadors left Scotland about the same time. The prior went through England, probably to make Elizabeth acquainted with the designs of the protestants, while Leslie sailed directly for France †. He arrived at Vitry in Champagne, where the queen then was, the day before the prior; and having solicited and obtained an audience, he lost no time in attempting to prevail upon her to embrace the sentiments, and to countenance the schemes of those whose interest he felt the greatest anxiety to promote. He has himself given a very ample account of the purpose of his mission, and of the conversation in which he unfolded and urged that purpose. Having been most graciously received by the queen, he informed her, that he had been sent by many of the most honourable and respectable of her subjects, to convey to her intelligence which they considered as intimately connected with the tranquillity of her reign; to warn her against listening to the insidious eloquence, and the deceitful proposals, of her natural brother, who would endeavour to dissuade her from bringing an escort of French troops, that he might the more easily obtain the chief administration of the govern-

Dispatch Leslie to their sovereign. March 18th

April 14th.

His representations.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 531. Keith, B. ii. chap. i. p. 157. Spottiswoode, p. 151.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 531. Keith, p. 160, and note.

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ment, and thus extirpate the catholic faith, to which he had long shown the most inveterate hostility. To confirm her in the wisdom of this caution, he ventured to insinuate, that, although the prior had stood forth as the zealous advocate of religious innovation, he was led to do so not so much from conscientious scruples, from any anxiety about the purity of religion, as from the hope, that he might thus acquire such a command of the public sentiment, as would enable him to wrest from her the sceptre, and to ascend the throne. Dwelling upon this formidable danger, to which he represented her as certainly exposed, Leslie suggested, as the most easy and effectual mode of avoiding it, that she should detain her brother in France, till all the arrangements, which she might find it desirable to make in her own kingdom, should be completed.

Apprehending, however, that she might hesitate about adopting so bold a measure,—a measure so little consistent with the regard and affection which she probably had for the prior, he recommended to her to land in the northern parts of Scotland, because, by doing so, she would, with the greatest facility, overcome the heretics, and most certainly confirm, in their attachment to the church, that great number whose faith late events had in some degree shaken. He assured her that the country was now in a very different state from that in which it had been during the regency of her mother; that, looking forward with eagerness and delight to the unexpected arri-

val of their sovereign, her subjects would regard her as a sun rising to dispel the gloomy clouds which had so long hung over them; that she would probably find little difficulty even in influencing or directing their faith, because, although they had the utmost abhorrence of tyranny, they naturally were attached to their princes, and derived much gratification from obeying them. Still exhibiting the prior as the principal leader or instigator of her enemies, he again, in the name of Huntly and the catholic nobles, implored her not to surrender herself into his hands, promising that the nobility in the north of Scotland would instantly join her with twenty thousand men, and would conduct her in triumph to the capital of her own dominions *.

That this account of his communication to the queen is accurate, cannot be doubted, and it sufficiently shews how justly the protestants were alarmed for their safety,—how determined some of the most considerable men in the kingdom were again to involve their country in the misery of a civil war, that they might fix on it those chains of civil and religious tyranny, from which it had happily been loosened.

Prudence of the Queen.

Mary conducted herself in this interview with admirable prudence and address. She made no rash declaration of her intentions, did not yield to the feelings which many parts of the conversation

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 531, 532.

CHAP. XIX. 1561.

could not fail to excite; but she merely requested that Leslie would remain with her till she left France, and that he would write to the nobles, who had entrusted him with so delicate and important a commission, that she would soon return to Scotland, and that she cherished towards them the most kindly sentiments *.

April 15th. Representations of the Prior.

On the following day the prior arrived. Although he had been informed of the intention of Leslie's embassy, particularly of the anxiety of those who sent him to prejudice Mary against himself and the protestants, he took no direct notice of these circumstances, but with much force stated to his sister, that she stood in need of no foreign troops to secure to her the peaceable possession of her throne; that she would be supported by the affections of her subjects, who would receive her in the most dutiful and gratifying manner; that the great object which she should steadily contemplate, was the preservation of the tranquillity which had been so lately restored, and that she might depend upon every effort which he could make to contribute to the prosperity and happiness of her reign †.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 532. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 260. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 151. Keith, B. ii. ch. i. p. 160.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 327. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 532. Blackwood's Martyre de Marie Stuart, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 194. Spottiswoode, p. 151. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 31. Keith. p. 160, 161.

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1561. Mary disposed to be guided by him.

She preferred the counsels of her brother to those which Leslie had given. * Although she was naturally inclined to favour the party who were of the same religion with herself—although her uncles must have been partial to the men who had uniformly adhered to the interests of France, or who were now determined to adhere to them; yet there were many powerful reasons which decided Mary to commit herself to the direction of the protestant nobles. She probably was averse to the renewal of war; she must have perceived, that, if with the assistance of a French army, the catholics had been unable to preserve their superiority, little could be expected from their solitary exertions; and the effect of these motives was much increased by the information which she derived from D'Osel, Martigues, and La Brosse, who had returned to France with the army. These men, from their residence in Scotland, had acquired a thorough knowledge of the relative situation and strength of parties; and this knowledge had, in opposition to their prejudices and inclinations, convinced them that the queen would receive the most effectual services from the professors of the reformed religion; that, to avoid irritating her subjects, she ought to repose her confidence in the Lord James, in the Earl of Argyle, who had married her natural sister, and in Maitland of Lethington, whose talents, from his

* Leslie. Martyre de Marie Stuart, as last quoted.

CHAP. XIX. having been for some time at the court of France, she was herself able to appreciate *.

1561. Under these impressions, she gave to the prior the most positive assurances of her intention to be directed by his advice; ordered him to return to Scotland, and promised that she would send to him a commission, authorizing her nobles to hold conventions for regulating the affairs of the kingdom, and conferring upon himself the superintendence of the government. Reflection upon this promise, led her to doubt whether it would be prudent to lodge in the hands of her brother an authority which might be abused, and of which he might not be easily divested. She accordingly determined not to issue the commission; but she sent letters to the lords, requesting that peace might be carefully preserved; that nothing should be done in opposition to the treaty of Leith; that whatever related to that treaty, and to the state of religion, should continue as it was till her arrival †.

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 31. Keith, p. 160, who considers this account of Sir James's as confirmed by the queen's coldness to the proposition of Leslie.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 533. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 151. Knox, B. iii. p. 273. Keith, B. ii. ch. i. p. 161. Throkmorton's letter to Queen Elizabeth, inserted by Keith, p. 163, 164, and by Burnet, in Vol. III. Collection, p. 313. By comparing these sources of information, it will appear that there is some confusion in the accounts of what happened in consequence of the prior's representations. It is evident from all the writers, that Mary was determined to follow the counsels of her brother; but Leslie makes no mention of any commission to him, while Buchanan asserts,

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France attempts to renew the ancient league with Scotland.

Although the queen-dowager of France was not displeased that Mary should remove from court—although she had no affection for that princess, and felt little interest in the fate which awaited her, she was not indifferent to the political sentiments of the people of Scotland; she resolved to make an effort for the renewal of the ancient league between that kingdom and the French sovereigns, hoping thus to counteract, or to defeat, the influence which Elizabeth had so firmly established.

that he brought a commission, authorizing the holding of conventions for regulating the affairs of the kingdom. Knox again is silent about the commission, but he affirms that the Lord James was the bearer of letters, requesting that nothing should be done contrary to the pacification of Leith; in this he is supported by Spottiswoode. The letter of Throkmorton throws light upon the whole of this matter. It may be gathered from that letter, that the queen had promised to her brother a commission under the great seal, assigning to him the care of the government; that he had left a servant to bring this commission, but that the queen, having repented, instead of sending it, gave to him letters addressed to the nobles. These letters probably contained the request mentioned by Knox, who could not indeed be mistaken as to this point, while the intention of giving a commission to the prior having been known to Buchanan, led him to suppose that this commission authorized the communication which was certainly, upon the prior's return, made from the queen to the nobility. There is thus no real inconsistency in the accounts—no reason for believing what Keith insinuates, that Knox was wrong in his statement respecting the message from Mary. That Leslie should have been silent about these letters is not astonishing. Although he was in the retinue of the queen, he might not have heard of their being written, or of what they contained; and even although he had, it was not to be expected that he would notice the existence of documents which seem to have amounted to an indirect ratification of the parliament so obnoxious to the catholics.

CHAP. XIX.

1561. March.

Soon after the dissolution of the convention, which had met in January, an ambassador from France arrived in Scotland, with instructions to propose to the estates, "that the old league between the two countries should be renewed; that the late confederacy with England should be dissolved; and that the churchmen should be restored to the situation and the affluence of which they had been deprived *."

In the absence of the prior, who was unquestionably the leader of the ruling party, it was resolved not to enter upon the consideration of proposals so essentially connected with the interests of the country; but that this delay did not originate from any hesitation about the answer to be given, is evident from the reply which was made by a convention in May, at which the message of the ambassador was discussed. The members of this convention declared, that France had not acted in such a manner as to entitle her to expect that either they or their posterity would again form an alliance with her, since she had so cruelly, under pretext of friendship, and of the marriage which had subsisted between their sovereigns, persecuted the inhabitants of Scotland, and endeavoured to subvert their liberties; that both conscience and regard to the opinions of the world must prevent

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. Knox. B. iii. p. 269. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 151. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 310. Keith,

them from breaking with England, to which they had been so much indebted, and which had given them no cause to apprehend any diminution of its concern for them; and that with regard to the churchmen, they did not look upon them as faithful pastors, or as having any claim to the patrimony of the church; that having abjured the pope, they did not conceive that any thing was due to men who were solemnly bound to defend his spiritual authority [*].

Elizabeth urges the ratification of the treaty of Leith.

While Scotland and France were thus affected towards Mary, in consequence of the death of her husband, that event was not overlooked by the sagacity and prudence of the English queen. She had, at the commencement of this year, sent the Earl of Bedford upon an embassy of condolence to that princess; but although this was the ostensible ground of his mission, he was instructed, in conjunction with Throkmorton, to urge her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Whatever had been the intentions of Mary with regard to this treaty, she must have been shocked with the indelicacy manifested in the choice of the time for requesting or demanding her ratification. She had, in conjunction with her husband, declined confirming it, and if she possessed any portion of that deep sorrow, which his dissolution is represented as having excited in her breast, she would naturally view as an injury

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. Knox, B. iii. p. 274. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 151, 152.

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1561. Evasive answers of Mary.

to his memory any deviation from what he had approved. She accordingly turned aside the united solicitations of the statesmen who assailed her, by a dexterous, but evasive answer. She told them, that in a matter of such infinite importance, she could not form a determination till she had consulted with her council *.

This reply gave some alarm to the jealous mind of Elizabeth. She justly considered it as indicating an aversion to sanction the treaty, but she dreaded, from the allusion to the Scotish council, that a party might be forming there, under the influence of their own queen, and of course hostile to the ascendancy of England over the deliberations and resolutions of the government in Scotland. To ascertain whether this suspicion was well founded—to prevent all opposition, by strengthening the inclination which had been so unambiguously shewn to continue in alliance with her, Elizabeth immediately dispatched Thomas Randolph, with precise instructions as to the part which he was to act †. He was commanded to address himself both to the zealous friends of the reformation, and to those who, although indifferent about changes in religion, were anxious for the preservation of peace. He accommodated his arguments to these different

March 17th. Elizabeth sends a confidential agent to Scotland.

* Camden's Annals, p. 63. Keith, B. ii. ch. i. p. 157. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 63. Spottiswoode and Mackenzie erroneously mention that Bedford was not sent to Mary till June.

† Camden's Annals, as last quoted.

descriptions of men. To the reformers, he stated, that the protestant princes in Germany having formed a league for their mutual defence against the pope, had sent to his sovereign intelligence of their proceedings, with an earnest request that she would persevere in favouring the reformation in England, and using every effort to strengthen it in Scotland; that, eager to promote these great objects, she had sent him as her ambassador to intimate to the lords, who had given such decisive proof of their zeal, how deeply she was impressed with the permanency of that friendship which resulted from unity in religion, and to beseech them not to intermit their endeavours to augment the numbers of those who were hostile to the Romish church. He was enjoined, if he perceived in those to whom he spoke, any apprehension of danger from following this line of conduct, to attempt to remove it, by mentioning the flourishing state of the protestant doctrine upon the continent, and, by inculcating the danger to which they would be exposed, if, from fear or any other motive, they ceased to be united *.

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* Crawford's Collection of Papers concerning Scotland, Vol. I. p. 206—208, copied from the original instructions to Randolph, in Cecil's hand, lodged in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. To this paper in that collection, the following note, either by Sir Robert Cotton or Crawford, is added. Randolph was sent with this memorial, when the Queen of Scotland was in France, after the death of her husband, Francis II.; the court of England thinking that the fittest time for negotiating such matters. See also Haynes' Collection of State Papers, Vol. I. p. 366—368; and Camden's Annals, p. 63.

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To those who, not much affected by religious considerations, were chiefly guided by views of political expediency, Randolph was instructed to hold a different language. He was to point out to them, that the present situation of their sovereign afforded every advantage for making a long or permanent peace between the two British nations, and for annihilating those parts of the ancient agreement with France, from which so many causes of hostility had arisen; that to accomplish ends so desirable, they should be peculiarly careful that their queen did not marry a foreigner, because thus new sources of dissension might be opened; in short, that they should reject all proposals which tended to break the good understanding subsisting between their country and England *.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the policy which dictated this interference, it cannot for a moment be doubted that it was intended, and that it was calculated, to weaken the authority of Mary; to lead her subjects to regard her as hostile to their religion and their liberty; to form a faction suspicious of their sovereign, and determined to measure their duty to her agreeably to the wishes of Elizabeth. This shews the state of mind in which this princess was, from a very early period, with respect to the queen of Scotland; exposes the hypocrisy of all the professions of esteem which Eli-

* See authorities in the last note.

zabeth so often and so profusely made, and leads us to look for the causes of her subsequent atrocious conduct to the unhappy Mary, not in the errors of which she was certainly guilty—not in her caballing with a party in England, which was only retorting, what, under circumstances rendering it much less excusable, had been done to herself, but in jealousy and hatred, which the most spotless virtue might have aggravated, and unquestionably would not have removed.

The intrigues of Randolph, the dexterity with which, from his approved talents, we may conclude that he promoted the views of his royal mistress—the address with which he would enforce topics so much in harmony with the feelings and sentiments of many who listened to them, could not fail even to strengthen that influence which Elizabeth was so eager to retain.

But she did not trust solely to the effects of his embassy. She continued to remonstrate with Mary upon the subject of the treaty—to embrace every opportunity of pressing her to consent to the ratification. The journey of the Lord James to France, of which she was fully informed, afforded a fair occasion for another attempt. Mary had before declined complying with the request of Elizabeth, because she could not consult with her friends in Scotland. The embassy of the prior removed, in a great degree, that reason, and Throkmorton, in con-

Renews her request to Mary respecting the ratification of the treaty.

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formity with his instructions, addressed to her, from Paris, a letter upon the subject *.

1561. April 19th.

In this letter, he called to her recollection what she had formerly said to the Earl of Bedford and to himself, and then proceeded to observe, that, as since that time, his sovereign had been informed of the journey of the Lord James, by whom her majesty would be instructed as to the sentiments of her council, he was commanded again to solicit that she would ratify the treaty.

Her reply. April 22d.

In a short letter, Mary replied that the Lord James had come only to pay his duty to her as his sovereign and lady, without any commission whatsoever relating to any thing else; and she at the same time mentioned, that as she was to leave Nancy, where she then was, she would not have leisure to give a more particular answer till she came to Rheims, where she meant to be upon occasion of the king's coronation.

The English minister communicated to his court this correspondence. He delivered also his own opinion, that, as the state of his health prevented him from personally discharging that duty, some person should be sent to wait on the queen of Scotland when she reached Rheims, and to receive from her the more full communication to which she had alluded. He stated his conviction, that she would not in this respect comply with the wishes of Eliza-

* Keith. B. ii. ch. i. p. 161, 162.

beth, but he considered that the scheme which he had suggested might be of use for directing his royal mistress how to proceed at a subsequent period *. CHAP. XIX. 1561.

Soon after this, Mary was seized with a severe but short illness †. Elizabeth commanded her ambassador to congratulate the Scotish queen upon her recovery, and to take advantage of that opportunity for renewing his solicitations with regard to the treaty. He accordingly introduced the subject, June 18th. and a long conversation about it ensued. After expressing gratitude to the queen of England for the interest which she took in her health, Mary said that she perfectly recollected all which Throkmorton had stated about the ratification of the treaty, but that she must still delay giving a final definite answer till she could consult, in person, with her nobility; that they had often seemed grieved that she adopted measures without their advice, and that such conduct would now be peculiarly offensive to them; that the delay which would thus be occasioned could not be long, as she was determined soon to sail for Scotland. She intimated to him her intention of sending D'Osel into England, who, she doubted not, would be able completely to sa-

* Correspondence of Throkmorton in Burnet, Vol. III. Collection of Papers; and in Keith. B. ii.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 534. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 260. Keith, B. ii. ch. i.

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tisfy her good sister, from whom she expected that courtesy and attention, in her journey to her own dominions, which one sovereign prince should shew to another. She declared, that although there had hitherto been little cordiality between her and Elizabeth, she trusted that they would hereafter live on the most intimate footing; that to secure this, she would withdraw the French troops from Scotland, and would leave nothing undone to satisfy all parties; convinced, that by acting in this manner, she would destroy every inclination in Elizabeth to give aid in future to her rebellious subjects.

Throkmorton, after expressing his reluctance to enter with her upon any discussion, insinuated that there could be no reason for apprehending that her ratification of the treaty would not be acceptable to the nobles and the estates of Scotland, because it had been concluded with their approbation. Mary replied, that it had not been concluded with the approbation of all of them; but that she was most anxious to live in peace with the English queen, and would do every thing which could contribute to what she so much desired. She then again alluded to the countenance which that princess had given to the discontented Scotish faction; complained of it; spoke of the religious troubles which had distracted her dominions; and concluded by soliciting Throkmorton to interpose his good offices

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to unite, in perfect friendship, her and his own sovereign *.

1561. Elizabeth irritated.

The communication of her ambassador, conveying the substance of what had passed during his interview with Mary, alarmed and irritated Elizabeth. The assertion of the queen of Scotland, that the treaty had not been approved by all her counsellors, led to a suspicion that some revolution had taken place in the sentiments of the Scotish nobles; and she thought it necessary to communicate what she suspected in an expostulatory letter, which she addressed to the estates. In this vehement epistle, after reminding them of the many obligations under which she had laid them, of the pure motives by which she had been actuated in giving them assistance, and of the happy effects which had resulted from her interference, she complained that their queen had delayed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, alluded to the remark respecting a diversity of opinion in the council, and called upon them to give her an explicit and satisfactory answer as to their intentions with regard to that treaty. She declared, that if they were indifferent about the preservation of peace, she would be no less so; but that if they remained faithful to her, and prevailed on their queen to ratify the treaty, they might

Writes to the estates in Scotland.

* Letter of Throkmorton to Elizabeth, from Paris, 23d June 1561, in Knox, B. iii. p. 274—277. Keith has also inserted the letter in the second book of his History, chap. i. Calderwood's large MS.

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rely upon the continnance of her friendly inclinations towards their country.

1561. This admonition, which filled them with surprize, they immediately answered. They solemnly affirmed that they had given no advice to their sovereign against ratifying the treaty; that they considered the alliance with England as the greatest blessing to Scotland; and that the aid which they had received from Elizabeth was too recent to be eradicated from their memory.

But although they thus framed their reply in the most respectful language, many of them were filled with indignation at the suspicion and distrust which Elizabeth had shewn. They were conscious that they had done nothing which could bring an imputation upon the honour which they had pledged to her, and some of them, in the most unreserved manner, expressed to the English ministers what they thought *.

Her hatred of Mary.

The whole conduct of Elizabeth to the Scotish queen, even at this early period, displayed a violence and an irritation to which, perhaps, no disappointment or interference merely political could have given rise; strongly indicated the operation of that jealousy which so irresistibly sways those female minds into which it has unhappily entered.

* The letter of Elizabeth to the estates of Scotland, and their reply, are inserted by Knox in his History, B. iii. p. 277—280, and Keith, B. ii. ch. i. p. 167—169. See also Knox, p. 280, and Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 178.

When D'Osel, who, agreeably to the intimation given to Throkmorton, had been sent to the English court, requested that the queen would grant to his sovereign a safe conduct for crossing the sea, and would allow himself to pass through England to Scotland, she, in the presence of all her courtiers, with the utmost vehemence said, that she would not, because Mary, regardless of her honour, had not ratified the treaty of Edinburgh. She then added, that if the queen of Scotland would no longer withhold the ratification, she might expect every testimony of respect and affection which she could shew to her *. 1561. Her contemptuous treatment of D'Osel.

The dignified mind of Mary was deeply wounded by this reception of her ambassador. Upon his return, which was only a few days before she left Paris to embark for Scotland, she gave an audience to Throkmorton, who reported to her the Mary shocked with this conduct.

* Camden's Annals, p. 63, 64. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 536. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 260, 261. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 63. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. This last historian has given a very inaccurate and unfair account of Elizabeth's answer to D'Osel. He takes no notice of her refusal, and of the insulting terms in which it was conveyed, but represents her as declaring, that, if Mary would pass through England, she might expect all the kindness and attention which could be shewn to a friend and a relation; but that if she declined an interview, she would regard it as an affront. There is unquestionable evidence for the account which has been inserted in the text, and I am afraid that the prejudices of Buchanan against his unhappy sovereign influenced him, when he wrote the passage to which I allude.

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1561. Affecting conversation with the English ambassador.

determination of his sovereign respecting the requests which had been made through D'Osel. She immediately ordered her attendants to withdraw to some distance, saying to him, that, as she could not depend upon her restraining her indignant emotions, she was unwilling to make the same open display of the violence of her passions which the queen of England had so indecorously exhibited. She bitterly lamented that she had condescended to ask as a favour from her what she did not require, as she could, independently of any power, sail to her own dominions, expressing her hope, that, as she had escaped the fleet of Edward, she would be equally fortunate with respect to that of Elizabeth, if it should really be sent out to intercept her. She reproached that princess with the assistance which she had given to the disaffected in Scotland, contrasting the cordiality shewn to them with the coldness and reserve displayed towards herself; and she pointed out and reprobated the artifice and duplicity with which Elizabeth had acted. Considering the whole of that queen's behaviour to her as an affront to her understanding, she said, that, although she was young, and had not much experience, she saw the wisdom of deliberation in a matter to her of so much moment. In reply to what was said by Throkmorton about the treaty, she spake of the unreasonableness of Elizabeth, reminding the ambassador, that, from the

moment of her husband's death, she had relinquished the title of queen of England, and had even ceased using the arms, which had given so much offence, although several families, less entitled than herself, were permitted to bear them. "I know," she concluded, "what I am, and would be loth to do others wrong, or to suffer too much wrong to myself." CHAP. XIX. 1561.

It is certain, that even at this time she was thoroughly persuaded, not only that Elizabeth was determined to harass and thwart her, but that she would not scruple, if she had it in her power, to proceed to extremity against her; for when Throkmorton, in order to ascertain whether she really intended to go to Scotland, waited upon her next day, July 21st. under pretence of taking his leave, she used these striking words, almost prophetic of her fate, and showing most strikingly what were her feelings and apprehensions. "If my preparations were not so far advanced as they are, perhaps the unkindness of your mistress might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to venture upon it, whatever be the issue. I trust the wind will be so favourable as that I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then the queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands, to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure that casualty might be better for me

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than to live: in this matter, God's will be fulfilled *.

1561. Reflections upon it.

The most inveterate enemy of Mary may read this passage with emotion. An amiable and accomplished princess, whom early affliction had rendered peculiarly interesting, at a period when hope generally embellishes the prospect of life, unbosoms to the confidential servant of a rival sovereign her gloomy anticipations of futurity; thus impressing on the mind, how wide may be the distance between the highest condition and that happiness which gives to existence all its value—thus guarding, in the most affecting, yet incidental manner, against the vanity of ambition, and pointing out the true sources of human felicity.

She makes an attempt to conciliate Elizabeth.

Before she left France, Mary made an attempt to sooth and conciliate Elizabeth. When she was just ready to embark she sent for Throkmorton, endeavoured to convince him that the queen of England had no real cause to complain, and requested him to inform his sovereign, that she would, with her own hand, fully write to her upon the interesting subject which had been so frequently agitated †.

* Letter of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Queen Elizabeth, from Paris, dated 26th July 1561, inserted by Bishop Keith in his History, B. ii. ch. i. from Cabala, edition 1663. Camden's Annals, p. 64—66. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 63. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 177.

† Camden's Annals, p. 66, 67. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 178. Keith, B. ii. ch i. p. 178.

I have thus minutely detailed the correspondence, and the negotiations relating to the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, because the difference of opinion between the two British queens, upon this point, increased the envy and antipathy with which Elizabeth viewed Mary, while it produced in Mary that rashness and that disregard of what might have recommended her to her great rival, which characterized her subsequent conduct; and thus exerted a direct and most powerful influence upon the state of the reformation in Scotland.

Erroneous policy of Mary.

Had Mary, immediately after the death of her husband, not only ceased to assume the title and the arms of the queen of England, but cheerfully ratified that article of the treaty which related to them, although it is not probable that she would have secured the confidence or affection of Elizabeth, who, from her situation and her temper, could not have divested herself of all suspicion or apprehension, yet she would have removed every pretext for that queen's interfering in the affairs of Scotland,—would, in all likelihood, have detached her from the lords of the congregation, whose views of religion were very far from coinciding with her own; and thus delivered from the intrigues of England, she would have enjoyed many advantages for gradually weaning her subjects from the new opinions, or for continuing to the priesthood a degree of splendour which would have decided weak minds in the choice of their faith.

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There were, however, many motives for her not adopting this explicit and ingenuous conduct. Actuated by the ardent ambition of youth, she cast a wishful eye to the English throne. The loose manner in which the article of the treaty was expressed, led her to apprehend, that, by subscribing it, she would forfeit every claim, under any circumstances, to sway the sceptre of England; and the caution, produced by this idea, was confirmed or strengthened by the advice of her uncles, who, detesting Elizabeth, used every method to disturb the tranquillity of her reign.

Elizabeth secretly desires that Mary should not ratify the treaty.

Although the conduct of Mary was loudly and acrimoniously blamed by Elizabeth, there can be little doubt that this princess secretly rejoiced that the Scotish queen had acted as she did; was really most desirous that the ratification of the treaty should be withheld. She dreaded too close and unreserved intercourse with a neighbour, whose right to her crown was, in the estimation of a great part of her subjects, superior to her own,—whose incomparable beauty and fascinating manners might make a deep impression upon the affections of the people,—and who, having evinced her conviction that she had some title to the throne, would not fail to obtain from foreign nations the most formidable support, if she could prevail upon any party in the kingdom to espouse her pretensions. Had Elizabeth really been anxious to live upon a footing of cordial friendship with Mary, she could,

with the utmost ease have removed what she represented as the obstacle which prevented the gratification of what she affected to desire. Such an explanation of the article of the treaty as was afterwards proposed, which, while it secured the sceptre to Elizabeth, left the eventual succession open to Mary, would have satisfied this princess, or the display of kind attention, and unfeigned sympathy, would have softened her generous heart, and prepared it for impressions of the most tender attachment *. The deportment of the queen of England, however, was, even from the beginning, uniformly harsh or reserved; she seemed afraid of encouraging Mary to love her; and the language which she addressed to D'Osel, she must have known that no woman of a high spirit, and accustomed to the most gratifying adulation, could fail to resent. 1561.

Such was the light in which the two queens of Britain regarded each other. Mary was convinced that Elizabeth was hostile to her; while Elizabeth, regardless of the feelings and the prerogative of Mary, was determined to maintain her own influence in Scotland, by adhering to the reformers, against whom their sovereign entertained the most rooted prejudice.

First General Assembly.

While the correspondence, which thus unfortunately terminated, was carrying on, the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland was regarded with much

* Keith, B. ii. ch. ii. p. 187. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p 20.

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anxiety by the ruling party, and by the preachers, to whom the people had been accustomed to look with the strongest deference and respect. The first general assembly had been held at Edinburgh, towards the conclusion of the preceding year; and as the number of the protestant clergy was then very inconsiderable, the chief subject of deliberation was, the manner in which men properly qualified might be most speedily and effectually procured for the important office of the ministry *. After making some regulations, not of much consequence as affecting the progress of the reformation, it adjourned till the middle of January, but from some cause, no meeting then had taken place; for it is evident from the record, that the next general assembly was not held till the month of May †.

Dec. 20th.

Book of discipline submitted to a convention.

To the convention which, in consequence of the death of the French king, had met in January, Knox presented the book of discipline, with a request that it might receive the sanction of the nobility and barons of the realm. This request occasioned much diversity of sentiment. Some of the nobles and chief men among the protestants, unwilling to irritate the preachers at a time

* Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 29, 30. Keith, B iii. ch. i. p. 497. Although this writer was not partial to the first reformers in Scotland, and often represents them in an unfavourable light, he has, with much diligence, collected the records of different assemblies, and I shall frequently quote his authority for their acts. See a long note to p. 497 of his history.

† Keith, B. iii. ch. i. p. 499, 500.

when their support might be most desirable, wished that the book of discipline should be incorporated with the law of the land; and had it contained merely a scheme for governing the church; had it made no provision for the maintenance of the ministers, or no allusion to the wealth of the priesthood, this would have been the universal opinion. But by appropriating the ecclesiastical revenues to purposes so different from those which had entered into the contemplation of the nobility, it excited the most determined opposition. Many who were asked to support it had already been enriched with the spoils of monasteries, and of other religious foundations, and all of them looked forward to the dissolution of the ancient establishment as to an event, in consequence of which they would appropriate to themselves, and their connections, those riches and that property of the church, upon which they had fixed their affections. To renounce the comfort and the luxury in which the tithes had already enabled them to indulge, to relinquish every hope of subsequent plunder, required an exertion of self-denial which they were unwilling to make, a purity of integrity which they did not possess. They ridiculed the whole scheme, at least those parts of it which were peculiarly obnoxious to them, as the result of visionary devotion; and thus kindled in the breast of Knox, little accustomed to opposition, and who had not suspected the influence of mercenary motives upon those whom he vener-

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ated as the friends of religion, the warmest indignation *.

1561. Resolution respecting it.

The discussion of the subject, or the final arrangements with respect to it, were, to the great disappointment of this zealous reformer deferred; and he has, with, his usual vehemence, and his usual honesty, painted, in the strongest colours, the feelings and sentiments which led to this determination †.

This defeat, however, did not discourage him.—After the convention was dissolved, he urged the most eminent of the protestants to comply with his wishes; and a considerable number of them, probably from fear of alienating him, or of weakening the ardour of his zeal, consented to subscribe the book of discipline, both in testimony of their approbation of the scheme which it delineated, and as a pledge of their resolution to convert it, at a future period, into a legal establishment ‡. Yet even while they thus far gratified the compilers of the book of discipline, it may be concluded, from the declaration which they annexed to it, that they had not lost sight of the patrimony of the church. "We who have subscribed these presents, having advised and

Jan. 17th, or 27th.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 256. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 174. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 161, 162. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 470.

† Knox, B. iii p. 256. The remarks upon the conduct of Lord Erskine, shew very strikingly the plainness with which the preachers were then in the practice of delivering their sentiments.

‡ Knox, p. 257. Spottiswoode, p. 175. Calderwood, p. 80. Keith, p. 406.

considered the whole book, think the same good, and agreeable in all points to the word of God, and promise to set the same forward to the utmost of our power, providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who have joined themselves to us, enjoy their benefices during their lives; they sustaining the ministry as is herein specified, for preaching the word and dispensing the sacraments *."

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In tracing the various steps which were taken to obtain a competent provision for the protestant clergy, and in detailing the most interesting circumstances connected with the disposal of the revenues of the church, it will be seen how little regard was paid to this deliberate and solemn declaration. It was obviously intended merely to amuse Knox and his brethren; and it exhibits a striking example of that total disregard to the most express engagements, to the most obvious dictates of honour and of duty, which, in their public capacity, is often shewn by men who, in the intercourse of

* Knox, Keith, Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Calderwood has expressed himself so ambiguously with respect to this subscription, as to leave it uncertain whether it was not the act of the convention. It however certainly was not.—The convention adjourned the consideration of the book of discipline, probably as the gentlest mode of rejecting it; and it was no. till after this assembly was dissolved, that the noblemen and gentlemen, whose names have been published, subscribed. They subscribed, however, not in their individual capacity solely, for the above declaration is entitled an act of secret council, and hence the book of discipline had the authority of the executiv power in Scotland.

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private life, would shrink with horror from conduct so marked by infamy.

1561. Remarkable situation of the church.

In the parliament held in consequence of the treaty of Edinburgh, the doctrines of the church of Rome had been proscribed, the celebration of mass had been prohibited, and the protestant confession of faith had been sanctioned, as containing the tenets which, it was the determination of government, should be inculcated; in other words, the reformed religion had been declared to be the religion of the state. Yet, although the functions of the priesthood thus were suspended, the clergy themselves were permitted to remain in possession of much of the wealth which they had been accustomed to enjoy, and their civil rights, although flowing from their ecclesiastical character, were not invaded. They were allowed to retain their seats in parliament, they continued to be summoned to it, and they actually attended this assembly and voted in its deliberations *.

The ministers, on the other hand, although they regularly officiated, received from the state no pecuniary recompense; and no system of ecclesiastical policy was established. There were thus two churches, a political one, or rather one interwoven with the law and constitution of the kingdom, and one intended for the instruction of the people.

The effect of this singular arrangement, was in the highest degree unfavourable to the protestant

* Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 534.

teachers. By commencing their ministry in poverty and dependence, the resolution of the nobles to keep them poor was confirmed, while the certainty that, notwithstanding their depressed condition, their speculative tenets, and their views of religion would be almost universally embraced, led the best endowed of the clergy to unite with the laity who had opposed them in devising methods for converting into their own private property what was now plainly to be diverted from the use to which, for ages, it had been appropriated. Had the protestant ministers made a stand at the commencement of the parliament; had they blended the very existence of the reformation with such a provision for themselves as would have preserved them from want, or even afforded sufficient encouragement to able and well educated men to undertake the sacred office, although they would not perhaps have obtained the absolute disposal of the ecclesiastical revenue, and it would not have been desirable that they should do so, they would undoubtedly have secured what they stated in the book of discipline, as required for their comfortable subsistence, and the remainder would have been devoted to objects, in every point of view more salutary and important for Scotland, than enriching a few individuals, who, by unworthy and dishonourable means, succeeded in acquiring what, upon no principle or justice or expediency, should have belonged to them. 1561.

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1561. Admission of Spottiswoode to be superintendent of Lothian.

But although there was thus at this period an established religion without an established ministry, the reformers conceived themselves to be at full liberty to carry into execution the scheme of church government, which, with the consent of the prevailing party, had been at first adopted. Under the impression that the book of discipline would

March. be finally ratified, Spottiswoode was solemnly admitted superintendent of Lothian. The form of his admission was so devised, that, with a few necessary alterations, it could be employed in the case of ordinary pastors; and a short account of it will illustrate the state of the church of Scotland in the infancy of its reformation. It was either composed by Knox, or fully approved by him, for he has detailed it with much minuteness, and he was himself the officiating minister. He began the service by a discourse, in which he enforced the necessity of superintendents and ministers, thus defending the form of church government proposed in the book of discipline; pointed out the vices which disqualified for the sacred office—the virtues required in those who entered upon it; and he concluded with discussing a question of much importance at a time when there was such a deficiency of teachers, Whether they, who, by the public voice were called to the ministry, might innocently refuse to obey? After the sermon, he declared that the lords of the secret council had given charge and power to the churches of Lothian, to choose John

Spottiswoode as their superintendent; that sufficient intimation of this had been given to these churches, and to the different classes of persons who were entitled to vote at the election; and he called upon all who were interested, to state whether they knew any reason why Spottiswoode should not be elected, and whether they would honour and obey him as the minister of Christ? Satisfactory answers having been returned, he addressed Spottiswoode; and after receiving from him an assurance that he was willing to accept the charge, that his resolution to accept of it was not produced by mercenary motives, he put to him a number of questions, intended to ascertain and evidence the purity of his faith. The last question related to his submitting himself to the authority of the church; and to this Spottiswoode answered, "I acknowledge myself to be a man subject to infirmity, and one that has need of correction and admonition; and therefore I most willingly submit and subject myself to the wholesome discipline of the church—yea, to the discipline of the same church by which I am now called to this charge, and here, in God's presence and yours, do promise obedience—for the vocation of God to bear charge within his church, maketh not men tyrants and lords, but appoints them servants, watchmen and pastors of the flock." This part of the ceremony being finished, the people were asked, whether they acknowledged this their brother as a minister

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of Jesus Christ, whether they would listen with reverence to the word of God as spoken by him, submit to his admonitions, and assist and comfort him in the discharge of his duties? After they had replied, a short address was made to the nobility; prayers were offered to God for his blessing upon his servant; the rest of the ministers and the elders of the churches took the elected by the hand, in testimony of their reception of him as their superintendent, and the presiding minister pronounced a short benediction. The whole closed with an admonition as to the manner in which the superintendent should perform the duties of the pastoral office *.

This form was strikingly impressive, was calculated to inspire the justest sentiments of the solemn nature, and of the arduous duties of the ministry—of the estimation with which they who conscientiously discharged these duties ought to be regarded. It also throws light upon the state of the reformation in Scotland at the time of its being adopted. Knox mentioned, that the lords of the secret council had authorized this election of a superintendent. The fact shews that the reformers were directly supported by government—that the approbation of

* Knox, B. iii. p. 263—266. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 311, 312. Calderwood, p. 30. This Spottiswoode was the father of the archbishop. It is remarkable, that the prelate takes no notice of his father's election to be superintendent, till he gives an account of his death.

the book of discipline was an official act; and this renders the relative situation of the two churches still more singular.

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In the questions put to the superintendent, there is much more minuteness with regard to the peculiar and mysterious doctrines of Christianity, than might have been expected from the confession of faith; a person who felt no hesitation to subscribe the one, might have hesitated about assenting to the other. From this it appears, that, in framing a creed designed for the whole community, it was not conceived necessary or proper to enlarge upon a number of intricate points, with which the people could not be acquainted, but with respect to which, it was supposed that the opinion of every one who had prepared himself for the ministry must be decided. From this period, indeed from the first nomination of superintendents, the reformed church may be considered as having assumed the form which was thought best adapted for accomplishing the great designs of its institution; and the clergy, not only freed from the apprehension of persecution, but assured of the support of the civil power, were indefatigable in disseminating their principles, in endeavouring to establish that popery was idolatry, and in carrying into effect that system of discipline, by which they hoped to restrain the vices of those who submitted to their ministry *.

But amidst this activity they soon perceived, that

* Knox's History, B. iii. p. 269.

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1561. The hopes of the popish party revive.

they were very far from having secured the power which they had so recently acquired. The popish clergy began to recover from the consternation into which they had been thrown, and not only cherished the expectation that their ancient splendour would be renewed, but incautiously boasted, that the protestants would soon be reduced to the insignificance from which they had emerged *.

Reasons of this.

There were several reasons which account for this change of sentiment, but which certainly did not render it wise that such a change should be openly, and, perhaps, insultingly avowed. Possessed of a great part of their former wealth, convinced, from the fate of the book of discipline, that the protestant teachers would fail in obtaining the ecclesiastical revenues, attributing the refusal to sanction that book to a decay of the zeal, which, during the continuance of tumult and civil war had been so conspicuously displayed, placing much reliance upon the queen's attachment to the popish religion, upon the influence, which, from her situation, her beauty, and her accomplishments, she might be able to establish over the minds of the most distinguished of her subjects; the friends of the Romish hierarchy flattered themselves, that a new direction would be given to the current of opinion, and that the preachers, harassed by want, or stung by neglect and contempt, would relinquish

* Knox's History, B. iii. p. 271.

a service, from which experience shewed them that so little could be acquired.

1561. The reformers were alarmed by the boldness of their opponents, and resolved to make the most strenuous efforts for the preservation of what they venerated as pure religion. They composed, at an assembly, held in May, a series of requests, which, with a supplication expressive of their fears, they presented to the lords of the secret council, and to that convention of the estates which had met at the same time, for receiving the communications of the prior upon his return from France *. They entreated, that idolatry, and all monuments thereof, should be suppressed throughout the realm; that they who openly professed popery should be punished; that special and certain provision should be made for the support of the different ministers of the church; that superintendents and ministers should be planted where there were none, and that suitable deference to them should be enforced; that they who despised or abused the sacraments should be proceeded against as criminals; that no letters of session should be issued for the payment of teinds till what had been appropriated to the preachers was secured to them; that the leases or feus of vi-

May 27th. Protestants present a supplication against popery.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 271. Keith, p. 501. Spottiswoode confounds the acts of this convention with those of the convention held in January, and he has been followed in this by Mackenzie in his Lives, and by Collier in his Eccl. Hist. of Britain. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 162.

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carages and manses should not be held valid; that six acres of land should be reserved for each minister; and that all who introduced, purchased, or executed bulls from Rome, should be subjected to the cognizance of the civil power *.

In the supplication, they declared their apprehension of the re-establishment of popery; and speaking of this, they employed the strongest and most decisive language. They stated, "that before that ever these tyrants and dumb dogs (alluding to the ecclesiastics,) ruled over them, and such as God had subjected to them, they would hazard their fortunes and their lives." Having thus intimated their determination, they deprecated such a state of their country as would render it necessary again to unsheath the sword; and they promised, that if idolatry continued to be suppressed, and the protestant religion upheld, they would ever prove themselves obedient subjects, and would cordially support government against all who set it at defiance †.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 271, 272, compared with Keith, B. iii. ch. i. p. 501, 502. It appears from Knox, that the requests were addressed both to the lords of the secret council and to what he calls the whole assembly then convened, by which he probably meant the convention. Keith speaks of their being presented only to the council, but the resolution which the convention soon after took, confirms the statement of Knox.

† Knox and Keith, as last quoted. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 164. Knox and Keith both mention, that the assembly met on the 27th May; and it appears from the register, that on the 28th the requests and supplication were approved and transmitted

Many of the requests clearly shew that the protestant teachers were already suffering under the pressure of poverty, and that numberless devices had been invented for defrauding them of what had been allotted for their maintenance. The irritation which so powerful a cause could not fail to excite, may be traced in their supplication, which certainly breathes a much more intemperate spirit than that by which they had at first been actuated. They not only denounce those who opposed them, but, with the utmost eargerness they petition, that they who adhered to popery should be punished; that the same persecution should be directed against them, which they, when they were themselves the sufferers, had so feelingly and so justly reprobated.

Their situation affords some excuse for intolerance.

Yet, although every approach to intolerance should be condemned as contrary to reason, and inconsistent with the enlarged benevolence, the humane principles of Christianity, it ought in candour to be observed, that the reformers should not be blamed with the same severity, which, under different circumstances they would have have merited. It must be recollected, in extenuation of their error, that they were surrounded by dangers, that they were not anxious, merely from the desire of con-

to the council. Yet Knox dates the supplication on the 18th, and Keith copies this date without any remark. It was probably a mistake of the press, 18 for 28, which Keith had not observed till it was too late for correction.

CHAP. XIX. straining the consciences of men, to direct the arm of power against peaceable subjects, who only 1561. sought permission to profess, without molestation, their religious sentiments. They knew that an alarming combination was forming against them, having for its avowed object the extermination of their faith; and they also knew, from melancholy and recent experience, that if this combination triumphed, there would be imposed upon them the yoke of civil and religious bondage. The feelings which the most galling enmity, which the terrors of martyrdom naturally excited, existed in their breasts with strength which time had not yet diminished; exhibited to them their obligation to assert the cause for which they had suffered, in a light in which it cannot be contemplated by those, who have quietly embraced the tenets which they hold, and who, delighting in freedom of conscience, willingly extend to others a blessing which all may harmoniously enjoy. Just escaped then from unrelenting despotism, still trembling at the probability of being again subjected to it, the protestants in Scotland would have been more than men, had they, silencing the voice of passion, subduing the impetuosity of zeal which it had been necessary to cherish, calmly meditated upon the duty of granting toleration; or expanded their views so as to perceive, that, by doing so, they would strengthen the foundation upon which the reformation was originally placed.

1561. Resolution of the convention to destroy religious edifices.

It was impossible for the council, or the convention, to disregard the fervent petitions which had been presented to them. They at once saw, that if they resisted these petitions, they would renew the calamities of war, and they shrunk from exasperating men whose principles they approved, and by whose firmness the reins of government had been put into their hands. Accordingly, the lords of the council, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, and probably hoping that they would afterwards find some pretext for rendering their resolution nugatory, passed an act granting all which was required*.

The convention no less decisively shewed their wish to strengthen the protestants. With the design of rekindling the ardent zeal, which had in some measure decayed, and probably still more for the purpose of diverting attention from the revenues of the church, and from the urgent claims of the new teachers to be sustained out of these revenues, they, at the desire of the reformers, issued an order for demolishing the abbeys of monks and friars, and for destroying the remaining monuments of idolatry throughout the kingdom; committing the execution of the order to some of the most eminent and popular leaders of the Congregation. The west of Scotland was assigned to the

* Knox, B. iii. p. 278. Keith, B. iii. ch. i. p. 502. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 164.

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Earls of Arran, Glencairn and Argyll, the north to the prior, and the other districts, into which the country was divided, to men upon whose zeal and activity the firmest reliance could be placed*.

Remarks upon it.

It is admitted by those writers who have most vehemently declaimed upon the consequences which resulted from this order, that the object of it was effectually to suppress the monastic orders, the most devoted adherents of the Romish church, the most dangerous enemies to the protestant faith; and when the act is viewed in itself, it must be considered as the natural result of that policy which had established the reformation in Scotland. Henry VIII. had seen the importance of similar measures for carrying into effect the imperfect reformation, or rather the capricious arrangements which he introduced into the church of England. He declared war against the monks, not only dissolving the monasteries, but enriching himself by seizing their jewels, their plate, their furniture, and their money. That he might not again be assailed or thwarted by them, he pulled down almost all the cloisters and the churches which were attached to them, and or-

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 174, and more fully in the manuscript copy of his History, quoted by Keith, B. iii. p. 503. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 164. Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 470. There is much confusion in the accounts of this transaction. Spottiswoode, as has been already mentioned, assigns to it a wrong date, and Heylin supposes it to have originated with the council, which granted the requests of the assembly. The two acts, however, were distinct, the one the act of the council, the other of the convention.

dered the bells, the lead, and the other materials to be sold *.

The intention of the council, however, was much exceeded. The fears which the priests had excited, conjoined with the too vehement exhortations of the preachers, stimulated the fury of the multitude, and there was much useless and lamentable devastation. Churches were plundered and destroyed, and the valuable articles found in them were most unwarrantably exposed to sale by those who had appropriated them. That motives much less pure than even the extravagance of religious zeal exerted upon many a powerful influence, cannot be questioned. In every popular commotion, the worthless mingle with those who believe themselves to be guided by principle; and at this period much was certainly done by the people, much by some in the higher ranks of life, which it is impossible to defend.

But while this is admitted, it may most justly be remarked, that it does not afford any reason for the exclusive condemnation of the Scotish reformers. The excesses which they committed were not greater, and they were much more excusable than those of which Henry was guilty; and if the reformation in Scotland is reprobated because its pro-

* Neale's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 17—19. Heylin's Ecclesia Restaurata, or History of the Reformation, Part II. p. 90. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 807—809. Burnet, Vol. I. Collier, Vol. II. each under the reign of Henry VIII.

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gress was sometimes marked by actions which were wrong, upon the same ground the reformation in every other country is to be deplored. There can be little doubt, that prejudices against some of the opinions, and still more against some of the innovations of Knox, have induced many authors to aggravate the errors of the protestants who adhered to him, incautiously and unjustly to attribute to his violence what was inseparable from a revolution, interesting the feelings, and rousing the passions of mankind—what may be traced in the history of every church, which had the virtue to emancipate itself from the tyranny and superstition of Rome. They who, in their ardour to support peculiar notions respecting ecclesiastical policy, have been rashly led to decry those who, though uniting with them in the great doctrines of the reformed faith, did not act upon these notions, would have evidenced more liberal sentiments and more enlarged philosophy, had they endeavoured to represent as entitled to gratitude and veneration all the illustrious men, who, amidst numberless difficulties, opened the road to divine truth, introducing a change of principle, favourable for promoting the improvement of the human mind, and which, in Scotland, was, from the beginning, interwoven with the best interests of civil and religious liberty.

CHAPTER TWENTIETH.

Mary's arrival in Scotland....Suspicious conduct of Elizabeth....Joy excited in Scotland by the arrival of the Sovereign....Increased by the first acts of her reign.... Attachment to her religion....Preachers offended.... Threatened tumult....Proper conduct of the Prior.... Proclamation....Protest of Arran....Increasing influence of Mary....Knox alarmed....His sermon....His conference with the Queen....His manly and independent behaviour....His account of the conversation....His opinion of the Queen....Remarks upon his principles and conduct.

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1561. Mary's arrival in Scotland. August.

ABOUT the middle of August the queen of Scotland, who had been attended to Calais by the most illustrious of the French nobility, embarked for her native land. The Duke D'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis D'Elbeuf, three of her uncles, the eldest son of the constable Montmorency, with many of inferior rank, who were warmly attached to the interests of the family of Guise, accompanied her in the voyage, that they might witness her reception by her subjects, contribute to her comfortable establishment, and alleviate, by their society, the dejection and the anguish, which her departure from a country, where she had passed her most brilliant and happy days, naturally created *.

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 535. Leslie ac-

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When departing from the coast, impressed with the idea that her future life would be embittered by misfortune, she fixed her eyes upon it, and, when the darkness of night prevented her from longer beholding it, she ordered her couch to be spread upon the deck of the vessel, requesting, that if France were in sight next morning, she might be awakened. At day-break it could still be discerned. She saw it fading from her view, and when it was just becoming invisible, she, in the deepest sorrow, exclaimed, Adieu, my beloved country, I shall never see you more! *

August 19th or 20th.

In a few days she arrived in safety at Leith. For a short period before she reached Scotland, and at the time of her landing, the atmosphere was obscured by an unusually thick fog. Some of the zealous protestants, who dwelt with apprehension and abhorrence upon the religion of their sovereign, considered this as an indication from Heaven that her reign would be marked by calamity; and the disasters which in a few years pressed upon her, the tumults and dissensions which agitated her kingdom, convinced them that the uncharitable sug-

companied the queen to Scotland. Castelnau's Memoirs, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 455. Keith, B. ii. ch. i. p. 179.

* Brantome's interesting account of the voyage may be seen in Jebb, Vol. II. p. 483, 484, inserted among the additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau. Brantome and Castelnau, who may also be consulted, attended the queen, and probably witnessed the scene which the former of these writers has so feelingly described.

gestions of ignorance and superstition had been derived from inspiration *.

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Whatever the state of the atmosphere might have been conceived to portend, it in all probability saved Mary from the horrors of captivity; and was on this account, at least from more amiable feelings than those which dictated the opposite opinion, ascribed to the superintending care of a beneficent providence †. Elizabeth had sent out a considerable fleet; and historians are almost unanimous in asserting or insinuating, that her intention was to intercept Mary, and to prevent her from reaching her own dominions. The subsequent conduct of the English queen, gives to the assertion or the insinuation much probability; and although a measure so shocking to every virtuous mind was explicitly disavowed, the circumstance that one of the vessels accompanying Mary was actually captured, leaves almost no reason to doubt that the disavowal was insincere ‡. The arrival of

Suspicious conduct of Elizabeth.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 283, 284. Heylin's Hist. of Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 165.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 575.

‡ Leslie, Lib. x. p. 575. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 178. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 165. Heylin's Ecclesia Restaurata, Part ii. p. 152. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 313, 314. Keith, p. 180. Mackenzie's Life of Queen Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 269. Memoires de Castelnau, apud Jebb. Vol. II. p. 455. Camden's Annals, p. 67. Camden's account implicates the Prior and Maitland of Lethington in the scheme of intercepting their queen. That historian narrates, that the Lord James, in returning through England, had advised E-

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Joy excited by the arrival of the sovereign.

the queen was no sooner made known, by the discharge of artillery under which she landed, than multitudes hastened to Leith, that they might be

lizabeth to intercept Mary, if she had any regard to the protestant religion, or to her own security; and that Maitland, upon hearing that D'Osel had been prevented by the English queen from coming to Scotland, wrote, approving of his detention, and expressing his own fears, that when Mary returned, she would excite troubles in her kingdom, cut off all communication with England, and direct her vengeance against her protestant subjects, regarding them not only as traitors, but as heretics. If it were possible to believe that the Prior suggested the scheme, he must be regarded as having been one of the basest of men. It must be remarked, however, that there is no decisive evidence to support the charge, and that without the strongest proof, we ought not to receive it as well founded. He had just made the most earnest declarations of loyalty to his sister, he had been most favourably received, he had obtained the fullest assurances that she would be guided by his counsels; and it is difficult, after all this, to conceive that, without any apparent motive, he would so soon act the part of a vile and unnatural traitor. Maitland did indeed write a long and very interesting letter to Cecil, the original of which is in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. stating his sentiments respecting D'Osel, and expressing, nearly in the words used by Camden, his apprehension of the consequences which would follow from Mary's returning to Scotland. This letter perhaps warrants the idea that when he wrote it, at which time he seems to have despaired of acquiring the queen's favour, he would have felt little reluctance to retard or to prevent her coming. But it is evident, that the plan of intercepting her did not originate with him, that he was even averse formally to approve of it, for he says, "I make not this discourse as our meaning to debar her majesty from her kingdom, or that we would wish that she never should come home, for that were the part of an unnatural subject." It is however exceedingly likely, that the representation of Maitland convinced Elizabeth of the wisdom of her previous determination to intercept Mary; and language nearly similar might have been used by the prior. The letter of Lethington, a man of great talents, and at this time in Scotland, throws much light

gratified by beholding her. In their ardour to see their sovereign, religious differences were for a moment forgotten. Protestants vied with catholics in CHAP. XX. 1561.

upon the situation of that country, and I have therefore, although it has been published by Keith, transcribed the greater part of it for the Appendix, No. XI. from Crawford's MS. collection of papers concerning Scotland, Vol. I. It may just be observed, that both in Crawford's copy, and in Keith's appendix, the date of the letter is marked 10th August 1560. It is probably so in the original, but they might have remarked, that this must have been owing to an accidental mistake, or to inattention on the part of Maitland. It was obviously written after Elizabeth had refused the passports, and when the queen of Scotland was preparing to leave France; it must of course have been in the August of 1561.

But whether the prior and Maitland were accessory to the scheme respecting Mary, it is almost certain that Elizabeth had formed it, and attempted to carry it into execution. This is affirmed by many historians of opposite political principles; it was certainly believed by Mary herself; and it was so much the topic of conversation, that the English queen formally attempted to exculpate herself from the charge. In the fragment of a letter to Mary, copied by Keith from what he calls the shattered manuscript in the Advocate's Library, Elizabeth writes: "Finally, where it seems that report has been made unto you, that we had sent our admiral to the seas with our navy, to prevent your passage, both your servants here do well understand how false that report was, considering for a truth we have no more than two or three barks upon the seas to apprehend pirates." It is plain from Throkmorton's letter to his royal mistress respecting the voyage of Mary, that he had received particular instructions to obtain accurate information about the time of its taking place, and some of his expressions are very remarkable. He says, "To the intent that I might better decypher whether the queen of Scotland did mean to continue her voyage, I waited upon her;" and a little after he mentions, "the queen of Scotland departed from St. Germain's yesterday towards her voyage, as she bruiteth it,—but what she will do, or where she will embark, she will acknown to never a Scotchman, and but to few French.—If it would please your majesty, to cause some to be

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testifying the delight which they felt; all endeavoured to shew, by illuminations, by music, by every expression which they could devise, the loyalty by which they were actuated *.

There were many causes which conspired to excite these emotions of joy and affection so honourable to the people, and so gratifying to the queen.

sent privily to all the ports of this side, the certainty shall be better known to your majesty that way, by the laying of her vessels, than I can advertise it hence."---Why should Elizabeth have been so anxious about the precise time of Mary's setting out, if she had no design against her? or is it probable that Throkmorton would have advised sending spies to convey intelligence, if he had not known that some plan, founded upon that intelligence, was in contemplation? The evidence against Elizabeth is as strong as, considering the secret nature of the plan, and the care which would naturally be taken to conceal it, could have been expected to exist. If we consider it as sufficient to establish what it is adduced to prove, we must regard that celebrated princess, notwithstanding the splendour of her reign, and the abilities which she often exerted for the happiness of her kingdom, as having been guided, in her conduct to Mary, by the most detestable hypocrisy; and we must consider all the defences which have been made for the manner in which she afterwards acted to that queen as entitled to very little attention. From the death of Francis, Elizabeth saw the importance of getting Mary into her power; although defeated in her first attempt, the plan was never relinquished; and she eagerly embraced the first opportunity of prosecuting it with success. Although the innocence of Mary had been clearly established, she would never, in all probability, have been restored to liberty; and the pretended investigations into her conduct, only added the mockery of cruel derision to the enormity of the most flagrant injustice.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 535. Knox. B. iv. p. 284. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 178. Keith, B. ii. ch. ii. p. 180, Castelnau, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 455.

They had long been deprived of the advantages, advantages in a rude age of vast importance, which result from the residence of a sovereign; they had been convinced from the moment that their youthful princess became queen of France, that she would never revisit her own dominions; and they had dreaded that their country, so long distinguished by the independent spirit of its inhabitants, would sink into a province of the French monarchy. All these evils and gloomy forebodings were annihilated by the arrival of Mary; while the striking events which had already marked her history, made a deep impression upon the hearts of a people who had for ages displayed the most ardent attachment to their sovereigns. Recollecting that her father had died only a few days after her birth; that the civil war, which so soon followed, endangering her safety, had deprived her of the affectionate care of her surviving parent; that, compelled to take refuge in a foreign land, she had been exalted to one of the most splendid and powerful of the European thrones, only that she might descend from it, in consequence of an unexpected calamity wounding her amiable feelings no less than the ambition so natural to youth; that her mind had been distressed by the misfortunes which blasted her mother's happiness and accelerated her dissolution; that she had come to a kingdom yet struggling with internal convulsion—they beheld her with a tenderness of sympathy, which, had her lot been uniformly prosperous,

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could not have been excited *. The incomparable beauty of her person, the engaging elegance of her deportment, filled them with wonder and admiration—gave rise to an enthusiasm of loyalty, which the sternest of the reformers did not condemn †.

The nobles hastened to the capital to do homage to their sovereign. They, too, beheld her with astonishment and delight. Captivated with the gentleness and polished affability of her manners, with those graces by which she was so eminently distinguished, and which presented so great a contrast to the formality or rudeness with which they were familiar, they shared the general sentiment of devoted attachment ‡.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328, 329. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 178, 179. Keith, B. ii. ch. ii. p. 180, 181.

† Buchanan, p. 329. Spottiswoode, p. 179. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 262. Knox, B. iv. p. 284. Mezeray, the French historian, says of Mary, that nature had bestowed on her every thing necessary to form a complete beauty; and Castelnau, in his Memoirs, affirms that she had greater perfections of beauty than any other princess of her time.

‡ Leslie, who hated the prior, and who was firmly persuaded that this nobleman was the most dangerous and inveterate enemy of his sovereign, mentions, that although he was in the neighbourhood of Leith at the time of her arrival, and was immediately apprized of her having landed, he did not hasten to offer to her the congratulations which it was his duty to present. This conduct, supposing it to have proceeded from the motive insinuated by Leslie, would have shewn so much folly, so much want of policy, neither of which could be imputed to the prior, that it seems reasonable to suppose, that if he were slow in waiting upon the queen, it must have been owing to some unavoidable cause, not to any wish to mortify her, or

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1561. Increased by the first acts of her reign.

The first acts of her reign confirmed the favourable opinion which her appearance had led the protestant leaders to form. She not only gratified them by that delicacy of attention so admirably calculated to gain the affections, and which must have proved irresistible, when proceeding from the most accomplished princess of Europe, but she unequivocally expressed to them her determination to regulate by their counsels the most important measures of her government. For all classes of her subjects she showed the most gracious regard. Aware how easily their religious zeal might inflame their minds, she consented that no alteration should be made by which that zeal could be turned against her administration. So bright indeed was the prospect which, by prudence and address, she had created, that both she herself, and

to lead her to imagine that he did not cordially espouse her interest. He knew well that many of the nobility would use every effort to ingratiate themselves into the royal favour; that they would not hesitate, even by an apparent coincidence with the queen's religious sentiments, to acquire the direction of government: and thus, even taking for granted that he was at this time faithless to his sister, he must have felt the utmost anxiety that none should rob him of the confidence which he was certain she was inclined to repose in him. This is confirmed by the circumstance that Castelnau and Brantome, both of whom, as well as Leslie, attended the queen, and who must have heard the reflections to which the absence of the Lord James would have given rise had the queen been hurt or offended by it, take no notice of any deficiency in his attention. So far indeed from this, the former of these writers mentions, that all the homage and reverence which he could have desired, were shewn to Mary after her landing in her kingdom.

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the friends who accompanied her, were convinced that every dissension would be extinguished, and that she would restore to her distracted kingdom harmony and peace *.

Had she at this period assumed the mask of dissimulation—had she, while she put no real confidence in the protestant nobility, abstained from making a public profession of her faith, there can be little doubt, from the partiality with which she was at first regarded, that she would have strengthened or secured the foundations of her throne; that she would have defeated the violence or the malignity of faction; and, by destroying every pretext for the interference of England, or for the existence of an English party,—by leading her subjects to yield to her undivided allegiance, she would have acquired such influence as would have rendered her most formidable to Elizabeth, and would have enabled her not only to renew the league with France, but in process of time to give an insidious and fatal blow to the reformed religion in Scotland.

Happily, however, it was neither in harmony with her natural disposition, nor with the openness and candour which, in general, so amiably distinguish the season of youth, to choose a part of such re-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 329. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 535, 536. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 179.] Castelnau's Memoirs, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 455, 456. Camden's Annals, p. 67. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 315.

fined duplicity; and, while we must feel for the errors and the misfortunes in which the neglect of this deceitful policy soon involved her, it must afford sincere satisfaction to all who value the liberty and independence of their country, that it was not adopted. CHAP. XX. 1561.

There were various causes which strengthened her attachment to her religion, and which would have made her shrink with abhorrence from every proposal or suggestion apparently to renounce it. Amidst the rugged manners, the barbarous and uncouth politeness of the Scotish nobles, she often recalled, with the tenderest regret, the captivating and delicate attentions of her former subjects. She associated with the happiness which she had enjoyed in France, the performance of those rites, which there she had been taught to venerate, while her deference to the opinions of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, to whom she had from infancy looked as her guardian and instructor—her reverence for the memory of her mother, whom she was disposed to consider as a martyr to the Romish faith, and her secret aversion to men, who, under the pretence of religion, had wounded the feelings and shortened the days of that venerable princess;—all conspired to make her regard the conscientious and avowed support of her principles, as a most sacred duty,—determined her to assert, with steadiness, her right to the same liberty which she was disposed to grant to the meanest of her subjects. Attachment to her religion.

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1561.

In the irritated state of the public mind, amidst the apprehension which had been sedulously and successfully excited, of the danger with which the renewal of the popish worship, even though confined to the sovereign and her household, threatened the kingdom, this attachment, however amiable, these resolutions, however just, could scarcely fail to raise in the preachers, who watched over the infancy of the reformation, and in the multitude who were devoted to them, all the fervour and the turbulence of exasperated zeal. When, accordingly, on the Sunday which succeeded the queen's arrival, and which happened to be the festival of St Bartholomew, they saw the preparations for solemnizing the mass, preparations which, perhaps in honour of the saint, were made with more ostentation than prudence would have justified, the hearts of the godly, as the historians of the party expressed it, became bold; and forgetting the professions of loyalty which they had lately made to the queen, they exclaimed, Shall the idol again be suffered to be established in the realm? Some, still more intemperate, threw aside all regard to humanity, and professing to be actuated by the spirit of a master who said of himself, that he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, did not hesitate to suggest, that it was required by God's law to put the idolatrous priest to death*.

Preachers offended.

Aug. 24th.

Threatened tumult.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 284. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 329. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 179. Calderwood's History, p. 30. Holinshed's Chronicle.

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1561. Proper conduct of the prior.

It is highly probable that some dreadful outrage would have immediately followed, had not the prior, whom the most zealous protestants held in the highest veneration, vigorously interfered, and announced his resolution to defend the privilege which he had before declared that the queen ought to possess. Under pretence of preventing any Scotchman from being contaminated with idolatry, but really with the design of preserving peace, he placed himself at the door of the chapel, and overawed the people. The service was thus concluded in tranquillity, and the priest, to the great scandal of the professors, was conducted to the palace by the two other natural brothers of the queen, men who had unequivocally espoused the reformed faith *.

The prudence with which the prior defeated the intentions of the too zealous friends of the reformation, however acceptable it might have been to Mary, filled the Earl of Huntly with regret. This nobleman, dangerous as he was fluctuating in his opinions, was desirous to increase the commotions which he expected to arise from the state of religious parties. He had, as has been mentioned, a little before the queen's arrival, reunited himself with the steady catholics, and in his anxiety to re-

Vol. II. p. 315, 316. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 165. Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 262.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 284. Spottiswoode, p. 179. Heylin's Hist. of the Presb. p. 166. Buchanan, p. 329.

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commend himself to Mary, and to wipe away the suspicion which his former fickleness must have created, he had pledged his honour that he would again establish the ancient faith in those northern parts of Scotland, over which, from his rank and his extensive possessions, he had great influence*. He probably thought that the outrages of the protestants, so soon after the queen's arrival, would disgust all who were inclined to peace, would draw away moderate men from a furious faction, and would thus prove highly favourable to the execution of his design. But when he disclosed his views to the uncles of Mary, he found them averse, at this juncture at least, to give to him their countenance. They had been informed of his having acted with all parties, and wisely dreading a ferment, while the end was not attained, they mentioned to the prior what had been communicated to them †.

Proclamation.

As a violation of law and order, the tumultuous and indecent conduct of the reformers could not be overlooked, and the council immediately assembled to concert measures for preventing the repetition of similar outrage. They employed some of the wisest and most considerate of the protestants to remonstrate with the higher classes, who might be

* Buchanan and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Mackenzie mentions, that the Earl of Huntly advised Mary to have recourse to violent measures against the preachers, but that she would not consent. This would have answered the end which he had in view, but I do not know upon what authority Mackenzie makes the assertion.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 329. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 179.

supposed open to conviction; to assure them that the wish to secure the queen in the undisturbed exercise of her religion did not proceed from any decay of zeal; to exhort them to bear for some time her superstition with patience, and to represent the infamy which would be entailed on them, the calamities which would arise to the nation, if they compelled her to abandon her kingdom *. CHAP. XX. 1561.

Under the impression that the great body of the people needed only to be satisfied that nothing would be attempted prejudicial to their faith, an act was made and published at Edinburgh on the following day, in which it was declared, that until the meeting of the estates, no innovation was to take place in the religion which the queen had found established; but that she required that none of her domestics who had come from France should, on any account, be molested or attacked †. Aug. 25th.

This proclamation might have appeased the friends of the reformation. It virtually confirmed all which had been done in the preceding parliament respecting religion, and although it looked forward to the meeting of the estates, as to a time when the ecclesiastical state of the country would again be considered, it gave the royal sanction to the victory which the protestants had happily obtained ‡. It had not, however, the effect which

* Knox, L. iv. p. 285.

† The act may be seen in Knox, B. iv. and in Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. P. 504, 505.

‡ Leslie saw this matter in the light in which I have placed it.

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might have been expected. Knox was evidently much displeased with it. He says, that it was composed by men who had before professed Christ Jesus; which plainly signifies that he considered the framing of it as a dereliction of this profession; and the Earl of Arran, after it had been read at the cross, most imprudently and irreverently protested against it, because he conceived that the law against saying mass, which was idolatry, should be executed without exception against all in the kingdom*. This was evidently aimed at the queen; and the high rank of Arran, giving to it an importance which else would not have been attached to it, she was filled with the warmest indignation, and from that time treated him with indifference or contempt.

Arran protests against it.

Notwithstanding the disapprobation of Knox and the protestation of Arran, the proclamation produced a great effect. The people felt the force of the general maxim, that it was unjust to constrain conscience; they had themselves experienced this, and they cherished the hope, that after the queen had heard their preachers, she would think less favourably of her religion, and

Speaking of the act of council against any change in the religion existing at the queen's arrival, which the proclamation announced to the inhabitants of Scotland, he says, "ex hac lege tanquam fonte omne sive hæreseos, sive inimicitiarum, sive seditionis malum in Scotia nostra fluxit. Nam quam quisque pro sua libidine religionis formam finxit, eam hujus legis, quam auctoritas Reginæ confirmarat velo tueri mordicus ac spargere latius potuisse se defendit." Lib. x. p. 536.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 286. Keith, p. 505, 506. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 166.

might even be convinced that it was not founded on the word of God. CHAP. XX.

1561. Increasing influence of Mary.

Her influence, indeed, became daily more perceptible. The lords of the Congregation, upon their arrival in Edinburgh, used the strong language to which they had been habituated, declaiming with much vehemence against the permission of mass; but after having been introduced at court, they uniformly became silent upon the subject, and adopted the mild sentiments which the council had avowed. Campbell, a zealous protestant, having met Lord Ochiltree, one of the last noblemen who came to wait upon the queen, and who was discoursing against idolatry, said to him, "I perceive, my lord, by your anger, that the fire edge is not yet off you; but I fear that after the holy water of the court has been sprinkled on you, you will be as calm as the rest: For I have been here now five days, and at the first I heard every man say, let us hang the priest, but after he had been twice or thrice in the abbey all that fervency past. I think there be some enchantment, whereby men are bewitched *." Knox beheld this decay of zeal with the deepest alarm. He dreaded that even the most strenuous advocates of the Congregation would be persuaded to desert their principles; and although he had exerted himself in private to prevent tumult and to preserve tranquillity, he considered that he was called upon, by the most imperious duty, to point

Knox alarmed.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 286, 287.

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out the dreadful evils which any relaxation of activity in opposing the church of Rome would unavoidably introduce. Having, on the Sunday succeeding that upon which the queen had celebrated mass, ascended the pulpit, he delivered his sentiments with a vehemence transporting him beyond the bounds which a prudent regard to truth would have prescribed. He inveighed against idolatry, by which he meant the popish service, or under which appellation he included that service; detailed the calamities with which God in other times had visited nations devoted to idols; and without hesitation declared, that he dreaded one mass more than he would an army of ten thousand men landed to suppress true religion. In the latter case, he said, they might look to God for support, but if they shook hands with idols, his presence would certainly be withdrawn*.

Aug. 31st.

His sermon.

This language was far from being agreeable to the courtiers. It struck at them no less than at the queen, and they with much indignation complained that he had not only departed from his subject, but had given admonitions in every point of view most unseasonable†.

His sermon, as was to be expected, drew universal attention; and the queen, who had with pleasure

* Knox, B. iv. p. 287. Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. p. 506. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 166, 167.

† Knox, as last quoted. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 30.

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1561. Conference with the Queen.

beheld so many of those who had been zealous for the new faith eager to accommodate themselves to her inclinations, wished to have a conference with him, either hoping that he would be so much flattered by this mark of respect as to abate his opposition, or that she would, by reasoning and expostulation, prevail with him to remain silent.

He was now placed in a most delicate and painful situation. He saw, as he was persuaded, a great tendency in those who had fought for civil and religious liberty, to desert that sacred cause; he found that his own attempts to maintain it were, even by his friends, considered as in a high degree injudicious and intemperate; while he was, at the same time, fully convinced, that upon his steadiness it depended whether freedom would finally triumph, or would sink under the intrigues, the artifice, and the power of the royal party. He knew what was the intention of his sovereign in holding an interview with him, and he must have been sensible how much self-command was requisite for calmly and firmly arguing with her upon subjects so interesting as those which she would probably introduce, and upon which his sentiments were in direct opposition to hers.

Had he listened for a moment to the voice of ambition, his resolution might have been shaken. It was of so much consequence to the queen and her partisans to attach him to their cause, that they would have thought no sacrifice too great by which

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this could be effectuated. Had he even acted the part, which they whom he had long respected as the best supporters of the reformation were now acting, he might have been raised to the highest ecclesiastical or civil honours which the gratitude of Mary could bestow. In these trying circumstances, the power of which over the human mind may be estimated equally by those acquainted with our nature, and by those who have acquired experience of the world, his attachment to the best interests of his country never wavered. He determined to defend his principles without any ambiguity, and, in the presence of the queen, to justify his conduct with as much plainness and as much energy of expression as he would have used to those on a footing of equality with himself. He has given an account of the conversation which he had with Mary, and that account must be interesting to all who wish impartially to estimate the vigour of his mind, and the obligation under which Scotland lies to his memory.

His manly and independent behaviour.

His account of the conversation.

He was introduced by the Lord James to a private audience. That nobleman alone was present, two attendants, who remained in the room, having been removed to such a distance that they could not distinctly hear what passed. Mary must have prepared herself for this interview, for she stated to Knox, with great clearness and precision, what she disapproved, and reasoned with a firmness and acuteness most creditable to the excellence of her understanding, and which may lead us to admire

the attention which, even at this early period of her life, she had paid to the political and religious tenets avowed by the Congregation. She accused him of having raised a part of her subjects against her mother and herself—of having written a book opposing her just authority,—alluding to his treatise respecting the government of women—of having stirred up sedition, and occasioned much bloodshed during his residence in England, and, which shews the superstition and ignorance of natural causes then prevalent even amongst the highest classes of the community, of having accomplished all this by necromancy. CHAP. XX. 1561.

He respectfully solicited that she would listen with patience to his reply to her accusations. With regard to the first charge, he answered, that if teaching true religion, and exhorting people to worship God agreeably to his word, were raising subjects against their princes, he must plead guilty, for these he had certainly done, and had been instrumental in exhibiting to the realm the falsehood of the popish faith; but that if pure religion and right views of divine worship directly tended, as he believed they did, to confirm men in the practice of every duty, and to shew them that they should obey their princes, he was innocent. "I am persuaded," he added, "that your grace has had, and presently has, as unfeigned obedience from those of your subjects who profess Christ Jesus, as your father, or any of your illustrious progenitors had

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from the bishops." The book to which her majesty alluded he acknowledged to have written with an immediate view to Mary Queen of England; but he declared that it ought to be considered as containing merely a theoretical opinion, as the Republic of Plato, a work which did not prevent its author from living peaceably under the policy which was approved by the generality of his countrymen. He affirmed that he had never enforced the tenets of his book with the design of alienating the affections of her people; that amidst all the convulsions which had taken place, neither protestant nor papist heard any dispute upon these tenets; that if he had entertained the wish to disseminate them in Scotland, he would have chosen a more favourable time than the present, when her majesty had returned to her kingdom. He denied having either stirred up to sedition or excited to bloodshed while he resided in England, but, on the contrary, he affirmed, that he had been happily able to secure peace and tranquillity, where they had, before his coming, been often interrupted. He found little difficulty in vindicating himself from having resorted to the arts of necromancy in accomplishing his objects.

The queen resumed the subject of religion, saying to him, you have taught the people to receive another religion than that professed by their princes, which is inconsistent with the doctrine of God, enjoining subjects to obey their princes. In reply to this, he, with much accuracy, explained the

nature of that obedience to which the Scriptures refer, and shewed, with great force of argument, that as religion derived its origin from God alone, mankind could not be obliged to frame their religious sentiments according to the faith of princes, who might be enemies of true religion, because we are under a stronger obligation to obey God than man. He illustrated this by various cases in which subjects had dissented from the belief of their rulers. Mary answered, that although in the examples which he had adduced, subjects had indeed differed in religion from their princes, yet they had not raised the sword. "God," said he, "Madam, had not given them the power and the means." Alarmed at this remark, she asked if he thought that subjects having power might resist their princes? Even upon this most delicate question he did not scruple to deliver his opinion. "If princes violate the great purposes for which they should be obeyed, there can be no doubt, that they may be resisted even by power, for there is neither greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. Now, Madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword and other weapons from him, and finally bind him and keep him in prison till his frenzy be past, think you that God will be offended with them for having prevented their father from committing wickedness? It is even so with princes who

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would murder the children of God, who are their subjects. They are in a state of frenzy. To take the sword from them, to imprison them till they think more justly, is not disobedience against princes, it is just obedience, because it agrees with the will of God."

Never, perhaps, had sentiments more offensive to a sovereign, educated in the maxims of arbitrary government, been in the presence of majesty so unequivocally avowed. The queen was struck with amazement and consternation. She remained for a considerable time silent, and the prior, who perceived that she was agitated, asked what had so highly offended her. She saw the tendency of Knox's principles, and dreaded the evils to which an attempt to reduce them to practice might give occasion; for when she renewed the conversation, she declared, then must my subjects obey you and not me, I must be subject to them, not they to me. Knox disclaimed every intention of perverting the people, or of acquiring any ascendancy over their minds, assuring his sovereign that his sole object was that both princes and people should obey God. Upon his urging the duty of rulers to support the church, the queen said that she admitted the general principle, but that she did not consider the church to which he was attached as the true church, and consequently could not conscientiously defend it. "I will defend the church of Rome, which is, I think, the true church of God." Knox, follow-

ing the impulse of his ardent zeal for the protestant faith, without hesitation maintained its conformity with the word of God, while he enlarged upon the corruption of the popish religion. When the queen pled that her conduct was decided by conscience, he made some general observations upon the necessity of enlightening conscience before this plea could be reasonably urged. After a few additional remarks of the queen, in defence of her principles, and some observations of Knox against them, the conversation terminated *.

What had passed sunk deeply into the heart of Mary. She saw plainly the nature of that spirit with which she had to contend, and probably justly estimated the difficulty which she would experience in guiding or resisting it. Knox also was strongly impressed with what he had heard. The ability with which Mary had sustained her part in the conference; the firmness with which she argued for the maxims which she had adopted, convinced him that there was little or no hope of her conversion, and he frequently mentioned the opinion which he had formed †. It is evident that he had

His opinion of the queen.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 288—293.

† Knox, B. iv. p. 293. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 372. In this collection is inserted a letter from Knox to Cecil, dated the 7th of October, 1561, in which he writes: "That our queen shall be allured by any such means, as we yet use, is altogether contrary to my judgment. I would be glad to be deceived, but I fear I shall not. In communication with her, I espied such craft as I have not found in such age." This conversation was considered as so important

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1561. Remarks upon his principles and conduct.

been represented to Mary as an enemy to monarchy, and the manner in which he spake of allegiance may afford some reason for imagining that this was really the case. Yet an attentive examination of his conduct will shew that he was thoroughly convinced of the obligation to submit to the supreme magistrates, in all things not con-

by all who felt an interest in the state of the country, that Randolph, the English resident, thought it proper to give an account of it to Cecil. In a letter to that minister, dated the 7th of September, he tells him: "Mr Knox spake upon Tuesday last to the queen; he knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her to weep, as well you know there be of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief, though in this the Lord James will disagree with me. She charged him with his book, with his fierce dealings with all men who disagreed with him in opinion; she willed him to use more meekness in his sermons. Some things he spake to her contentation in mitigating the rigour of his book, and in some things he pleased her very little. In special, speaking against the mass, he declared the grievous plagues of God that had fallen upon all estates for committing of idolatry. He concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak freely his conscience, to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the supreme powers." Copied from Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 219, and printed by Keith in his Appendix. The letters of Randolph, a man of much penetration, and who had the best access to be acquainted with the state of parties, throw much light upon the history of Scotland, during the period which immediately succeeded the arrival of Mary. He was warmly attached to the reformation, and prejudiced against the queen. His representations of the motives of that princess, must, therefore, when unfavourable, be received with some allowance; while on the other hand we may, from the causes stated, confide in the justness of the praise which even he was frequently compelled to bestow upon her sincerity. By comparing his private information with the writings of our historians, the truth may often be accurately discovered.

trary to the law of God. He upon every occasion shrunk from the imputation of being a promoter of rebellion; and it cannot be doubted, that by the activity of his exertions, rebellion was frequently prevented; but his attachment to what he revered as pure religion, to the liberty which was essential to its existence, was certainly stronger than his loyalty. He had formed very just theoretical sentiments respecting the nature of government; and conceiving himself to be unfortunately placed in the precise situation in which, from his principles, resistance became a duty, he discharged that duty, unintimidated by the obstacles and difficulties which might have been so plausibly urged in excuse for its violation. Even then, upon the supposition that his situation did not call for resistance, and, of course, that he was wrong in the application of his general principles, his opposition ought not to be stigmatized as faction or rebellion; he was not swayed by any private mercenary motives; for there can be no doubt, that had he lived in times less perilous, or had his sovereign either tolerated or professed the protestant faith, he would have employed all his energy to support the throne *. CHAP. XX. 1561.

But there is much reason to conclude, that his estimate of the danger which hung over his country was not exaggerated; and in this case, before he can

* This is confirmed by his conduct after the accession of James. See Spottiswoode, B. v. and Bannatyne's Journal, passim.

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be branded as a turbulent incendiary, we must be prepared to admit, that even the most intolerable tyranny ought not to be restrained by those against whom it is exercised. If we revolt from this opinion, so shocking to common sense, and so incompatible with the feelings of mankind,—if we allow that the happiness of the community is the great end of government,—that when this is disregarded or wantonly sacrificed, government is a calamity from which we would seek to escape,—if, in one word, we hold those principles upon which the revolution in Britain proceeded, and which form the basis on which our admirable constitution rests, we must revere this great reformer as the intrepid champion of liberty,—we must with gratitude ascribe to the resolute stand which he now made that blessed change of religious sentiment, those grand maxims of policy which have raised the prosperity of our country, and contributed to that intellectual culture, to that astonishing progress in art and in science by which its inhabitants are so eminently distinguished.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIRST.

Mary confides in the Protestant Lords....Embassy of Randolph....Maitland of Lethington dispatched to the English Court....His conversation with Elizabeth.... She again presses the ratification of the treaty....Mary desirous to acquire her favour....Political and Personal enmity between them....Popularity of the Scotish Queen begins to decrease....Suspicions of the Protestants ...Manner in which they acted....Impropriety of it....The Queen visits different parts of the kingdom....Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh offend her....She determines more openly to profess her religion....Irritation thus excited....Tendency to misrepresent the Queen's conduct....Poverty of the preachers increases their turbulence....Reformers divided....General Assembly....Its deliberations....Valuation of Church Revenues....Inadequate support allotted to the Protestant Clergy.

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ALTHOUGH the plainness with which Knox conversed with the queen, probably had convinced her that there was little prospect of her freely enjoying the exercise of her religion, she was not induced to relinquish the scheme of administration, which so many circumstances had determined her to adopt. She was still persuaded, that she would most effectuall, consult the happiness and tranquillity of her reign, by following the counsels of the

1561. Mary confides in the Protestant Lords.

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protestant nobility, and by cultivating friendship, or, what is more common in such cases, the appearance of friendship, with the English sovereign *.

Embassy of Randolph.

On the first of September, Randolph, who had remained in Scotland from the time that he was sent to execute the commission which has been mentioned, obtained an audience of the Scotish queen, and having, by order of Elizabeth, congratulated her upon her safe arrival, he delivered to her a letter from his sovereign, with which he had been entrusted. Mary made a suitable reply to the formal and hollow compliments of the ambassador, and, concluding that it was the intention of his queen that he should stay as her minister, she pleasantly intimated to the Lord James, that she was aware of Randolph's character, by saying, I am content that he tarry, but I'll have another there as crafty as he †.

Maitland dispatched to the English court.

Accordingly Maitland of Lethington was within a few days dispatched to London, having received instructions both from the queen herself, and from the nobility. On the part of his sovereign, he was commanded to intimate to Elizabeth, that she had arrived in safety from France—that she had been

* Randolph's letter to Sir William Cecil, dated 7th September, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 219.

† Randolph's letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 6th September 1561, in Cotton Library, Cal. B. x. copied by Crawford, Vol. I. p. 216, and published by Keith in his History, B. ii. ch. ii. p. 182—184.

most cordially received by her subjects—that she was most anxious to promote their happiness,—and that she was resolved to entertain and to increase, by all means possible, cordial friendship towards her good sister. 1561.

By the nobility he was enjoined to state the apprehension with which they had been filled, lest the ungracious conduct of Elizabeth, in preventing D'Osel's entering Scotland, and refusing to their queen those testimonies of attention and kindness which one sovereign should pay to another, would prejudice Mary against England, and even lead her to suspect that they had been accessory to the measures which the English council had adopted; to express their satisfaction that neither of these effects had taken place; to signify anew their anxiety that the two queens might live in the strictest lliance: but at the same time to intimate, that if unhappily Elizabeth should evince hostility to their queen, they would, as faithful subjects, discharge the duty which they owed to her *.

There was however another point, the adjusting of which was probably the chief object for which Maitland was so soon dispatched. The article the treaty of Edinburgh which destroyed all pretensions of Mary to the English th

* I have given the substance of the instructi which were committed to writing, and which have Keith, B. ii. ch. ii. of his History, from the manu the Advocates' Library.

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1561. had, as has been already seen, uniformly refused to ratify. Without making any allusion to what had afforded so much room for dissatisfaction, she and her council conceived, that all ground of dissension would be removed, if Elizabeth consented to declare Mary to be her successor, in the event of her having no heirs from her own body to wear the crown. Such a proposal was not adapted to the suspicious and jealous mind of the English queen. When it was first hinted by Lethington, she instantly turned the conversation to the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and when, with the utmost dexterity and address, he urged her in repeated conversations to give him an explicit answer, she shewed very strikingly, the aversion which she felt to anticipate her own decease, stating her conviction, that any declaration by her in favour of Mary, would not tend to produce mutual affection, while it might give rise to tumults and factions, most fatal to the happiness of both countries *.

His conversation with Elizabeth.

But while she refused the request which the Scotish nobles imprudently made, she expressed the utmost regard for Mary, and she endeavoured to efface from the mind of that princess the recollection of former harshness and enmity, by giving

* Buchanan has given a full account of this matter in his Hist. Lib. xvii. p. 329—332. Camden's Annals, p. 67, 68, compared with Keith, B. ii. ch. ii. p. 186. Heylin's History of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 152.

passports to the Grand Prior, and D'Anville the son of the constable of France, who were anxious to return to their country through England. Upon their arrival in London, she received them with the greatest kindness, and entertained them with a magnificence of hospitality which equally delighted them and gratified the queen of Scotland *.

She again presses the ratification of the treaty.

Soon after the departure of Maitland, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to Scotland, again to enforce the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Much correspondence upon this subject took place between the two sovereigns. Mary proposed that the treaty should be reviewed. She professed her willingness to abstain from using the arms and the title of the queen of England, while Elizabeth or any of her children were alive, provided that her right to the succession was not impaired; but it does not appear, although several of our historians have stated that this explanation was accepted, that Elizabeth ever acceded to the proposal †.

Mary desirous to acquire her favour.

But although Mary did not wish to relinquish what she was convinced she might justly claim, she was certainly anxious not to exasperate Eliza-

* Camden's Annals, p. 68. Memoires de Castelnau, apud Webb, Vol. II. p. 456. Randolph's letter to Elizabeth in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. 213. Do. to Secretary Cecil, dated 7th Dec. inserted in Keith's History, B. ii. ch. iii. p. 206.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 332. Camden's Annals, p. 68. Keith has thrown most light upon this subject, by the publication of some of the letters which passed between Mary and Elizabeth, B. ii. ch. iii. p. 212—214.

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beth. She often expressed her desire of living with her on terms of friendship, in language so strong, that Randolph was persuaded of her sincerity, and there can be little doubt that she was sincere *. It cannot, however, be supposed that this desire proceeded from personal regard—that was rendered almost impossible by what had already happened, and political antipathy soon was heightened by private dislike.

Political and personal enmity between them.

The beauty and accomplishments of Mary were celebrated throughout Britain; and the virgin queen had not so fortified herself against female weakness, as to listen to the enthusiasm of admiration which these excited without jealousy and disgust. It belongs to the writers who detail the general history of this period, minutely to trace the feelings which the two queens at different times cherished

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parent that they were determined not to grant to her the indulgence which they had so long and so successfully solicited for themselves. Although she pursued the policy which should have endeared her to her people, because it was in every respect calculated to secure the happiness of her kingdom,—although she courted a strict alliance with England, and followed the suggestions of those men who had been the leaders of the protestants, her resolution regularly to celebrate mass cancelled every merit, and created discontent, which the strenuous efforts of the Lord James and Maitland could not remove. Indeed these distinguished statesmen were in danger of losing the popularity which they had so justly possessed. Their wise and proper forbearance was construed into a dereliction of their former principles. It was confidently affirmed, that in not compelling their sovereign to relinquish idolatry, they violated their duty to God, and promoted their own ambitious views at the expence of the sacred cause which they had sworn to defend *.

Suspicions of the Protestants.

Although there was no real ground for these aspersions, it is not astonishing that the protestants were in some degree alarmed. Many of the nobles had certainly become cold in their attachment to the reformation; and in their eagerness to advance themselves in the royal favour, they tolerated, if they

* Randolph's letter to Sir William Cecil, dated 24th Sept. in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 222.

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did not countenance, the principles and tenets which Mary so decidedly espoused. This accounts for the eagerness with which the people embraced every public opportunity to remind her of the odious nature of her religion, and of their attachment to a different faith. In the disrespectful expressions of their sentiments, which she could not overlook, this discerning princess must have perceived the influence of a spirit which she might soon be unable to restrain. She was in fact much irritated by them, and they too surely tended to alienate her from her subjects, to relax the ardent desire which she at first entertained to make every sacrifice not inconsistent with her conscience, for the purpose of confirming their religion, and of securing to them the blessings of a mild, yet vigorous government.

Impropriety of it.

15th Sept. Queen visits different parts of the kingdom.

After the departure of her uncles, she resolved to visit some of the most considerable towns in her kingdom. She was received with every testimony of respectful loyalty, but she saw decisive proof, that even those who were most faithful to their queen, were actuated by the warmest zeal for the reformed religion *.

Magistrates and council of Edinburgh offend her.

She returned to Edinburgh a short time before the annual election of the magistrates. An incident then took place which gave to her great

* Knox, B. iv. p. 292. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 182. Keith, p 189, 190. Randolph's Letter to Cecil, dated 24 h September, in Crawford, Vol. I. and Keith, B. ii, ch. ii. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 316.

offence, and which may be considered as the first marked display of that opposition between the queen and the adherents of the Congregation, which was afterwards confirmed. Previous to the election, the magistrates and council, without holding any communication upon the subject with the court, issued a proclamation agreeably to the act which had been passed against those who said mass; in which they commanded adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, sayers and maintainers of mass to leave the city. The queen, provoked at the contempt which was thus shewn of herself, and justly considering the proclamation as a most indecent invasion of the prerogative, commanded the council to depose the provost and magistrates who had been guilty of such presumption, and to proceed to a new election. This mandate they immediately obeyed. The election of the new magistrates was just concluded, when a messenger from the secretary presented a list of three persons, one of whom, he was instructed to intimate, the queen wished to be invested with the office of provost. Upon this the council waited upon her majesty, and after mentioning, that, before they had received the list, they had elected the provost, declared their readiness, if she required it, instantly to proceed to another election *. Sa-

1561.

* Compare Knox, B. iv. p. 292, 293, Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 182, 183, Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 332, with Keith, who, in B. ii. ch. ii. of his History, has published the record of the town council respecting this matter. From the comparison, it appears, that Knox

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tisfied with this submission, she recognized the chief magistrate whom they had chosen, and by doing so certainly gave an instance of much forbearance and moderation.

Her conduct, however, in the whole of this transaction was grossly calumniated. It was without hesitation asserted, that she had committed the magistrates to prison, that she had compelled the council to elect the persons whom she had nominated, and that she published a proclamation inviting all her good and faithful subjects to repair to the borough, the intention of which, her enemies most uncharitably concluded, could only be to shew her partiality to the catholics, and that she would overlook every enormity in those who professed the popish religion*. Such a tendency to misrepresent the motives and actions of the sovereign, too plainly manifested that there was little inclination peaceably and dutifully to submit to her government, that the country was in fact ripe for a fresh ebullition of sedition and rebellion.

The mildness of the queen was not proof against so ungrateful a return to the indulgence and the countenance which she had shewn to the reformed religion, and to the ministers by whom it was taught. She resolved steadily to assert her own re-

and Buchanan had adopted the malicious rumours which the enemies of the queen industriously circulated, without feeling proper anxiety to ascertain what was really the truth.

* Knox, p. 209.

ligious liberty, for which she had stipulated, and to throw aside the scrupulous caution, which her earnest desire not to shock the prejudices of her subjects, had led her at first to adopt. Preparations for the celebration of mass were accordingly after this much more openly made; and although few of the nobility attended, yet the hopes of the catholics began to revive; while the protestants, ever apprehensive, anticipated the disappointment of all their expectations, the ruin of that ecclesiastical system which, after so many struggles, they had established. Knox, and the zealous preachers, were not backward to sound the alarm. They denounced the queen as an idolater, of course as in a state of enmity to God; and Knox even publickly prayed that God would turn her heart, which was obstinate against the truth, or if his holy will was otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and the hands of his chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants*.

1561. Determines more openly to profess her religion.

Irritation thus excited

On the day of All Saints, the ministers, offended at the rites prescribed by the church of Rome in honour of that festival, and at the boldness, as they termed it, with which these rites were performed, loudly complained of what they reprobated as offensive to God. They admonished the nobles, recalling to them their obligation to resist it; and they proceeded so far as to agitate the hazardous ques-

Nov.

* Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 21th October, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 224-228.

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tion, whether subjects might suppress the idolatry of the prince.

1561. Had they calmly reflected, they probably would have perceived that there was no sufficient cause for the panic with which they had been seized. Had the queen taken decisive steps to exterminate the protestant faith,—had she even, disregarding the proclamation respecting religion, which, soon after her arrival, she published, authorised the general celebration of mass, they might have trembled for their safety, and would have been justified in concerting the means of defence, lest resistance should be ultimately necessary. But to bring forward a subject so much calculated to irritate the passions, to mislead the understandings, and to extinguish the loyalty of the people, when there was no reason pressing them to do so, must be considered as evidencing a degree of violence, and a tendency to tumult, which it is impossible altogether to excuse. The most distinguished noblemen who had fought the battles of the Congregation, highly blamed the preachers; but as they were unwilling to irritate them, they endeavoured to convince them of their error. The Lord James, the Earl of Morton, the Earl Marischal, and Maitland, espoused the queen's cause, insisted that her subjects were not entitled to prevent her from the exercise of her religion in her own chapel; that while this was confined to her, and her household, there was no ground for offence or alarm.

The preachers did not acquiesce in these opinions, however obviously founded on reason and on revelation. They painted, in the most alarming colours, the consequences which would follow if the popish religion, under any modifications or restrictions, were again to be introduced; and fully convinced, to use their own language, that the queen's liberty would be to their thraldom ere it was long, they adhered to their original sentiments, and ascribed the conduct of the lords, who declared that they would in this point defend their sovereign, to the unworthy motives of interest and ambition *.

Tendency to misrepresent the Queen's conduct.

How strong the disposition was to judge harshly of the queen, is evident from an interpretation put upon a measure which her council about this time adopted. During that relaxation of government to which the late troubles had given rise, some of the

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 332. Knox, B. iv. p. 293. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 167. Randolph's Letter to Cecil, dated 11th November 1561, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 238—241. Randolph, although disposed to befriend the zealous advocates of the reformation, seems to have been much shocked with this dispute, and to have pitied a sovereign who reigned over subjects so difficult to be governed. He writes thus to Cecil: "It is now called in question, Whether the princess, being an idolater, may be obeyed in all civil and politic actions? I think marvelously of the wisdom of God that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more substance and power than they have, for then would they run wild;"—and after mentioning their suspicions of the Lord James and Lethington, that the former had become cold, and that the latter was ambitious, he adds, "so there is no remedy they say—it must yet come to a new day"; obviously meaning, that the cause of the two parties would be decided by the sword.

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inhabitants of the bordering counties, accustomed to pillage, and delighting in the excesses which every well regulated community must proscribe, had been guilty of many crimes; and it became necessary, in order effectually to check their atrocity, to punish the most active and daring of their leaders. This matter was for several days maturely considered by the council, and it was at length resolved to send the Lord James, with a small military force, to bend them to submission. His vigorous mind admirably qualified him for rendering this service to his country, and having without hesitation obeyed the requisition of the executive power, he most successfully restrained the enormities under which the peaceable inhabitants of the border districts had so long suffered.

Such, however, was the suspicion with which the protestants regarded all the schemes of the queen, that they did not scruple to insinuate, or to affirm, that the prior had been selected for this dangerous warfare, in the hope that some accident might befal him; that Mary was offended at his influence, and still more at his temperance and moderation, which imposed some restraint upon the licentiousness of the court, and prevented her from indulging that tyrannical disposition by which, as they represented, she was uniformly actuated.

It is melancholy to reflect, that even Buchanan has given his authority to such unfounded aspersions; unfounded, because, it is obvious from the

correspondence of the English resident, and from the whole proceedings of the council, that Mary was influenced by the purest motives which could sway a sovereign, anxious to establish the empire of law, and to promote the security and happiness of her subjects*. 1561.

It is evident, from the state of the public mind, that the most prudent monarch, professing the popish religion, would have found much difficulty in preserving the allegiance and the affections of the people of Scotland; it is evident that opposition to the government of Mary, or at least attempts to misrepresent her conduct, had been made, before she had given any real cause of offence, or had been guilty of any oppression; and it is therefore unfair to ascribe altogether to her imprudence, or to her errors, the lamentable convulsions which so soon took place. It is impossible not to be struck with the jealousy with which the preachers watched over the infancy of the reformation,—with the attachment so extensively felt for the principles which it had introduced. These circumstances, taken in conjunction with the efforts of the catholics, in a great degree account for the bold intemperate language with which the ears of the queen were so often as-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 332, 333. Knox, B. iv. p. 291. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 24th October, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 224. Keith, B. ii. ch. ii. p. 198—200, where the acts of council respecting this appointment are inserted, containing official evidence of Buchanan's misrepresentations.

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sailed, and by which the antipathy of her people was so powerfully, and at least for a considerable time, so unreasonably excited.

Poverty of the preachers increases their turbulence.

There is, however, some ground for suspecting that the mere circumstance of Mary's adherence to popery would not, while she continued to respect the faith of the reformers, have given rise to such violence, had not another cause actively conspired.

Although the plan which Knox had proposed for the government of the church had, in so far as it embraced regulations merely ecclesiastical, been readily, though tacitly adopted, although some of the most zealous and able protestants had been invested with the office of superintendents,—although the utmost deference was paid to the suggestions of Knox, respecting the preservation of protestant ascendency,—although his sermons were heard with a degree of attention, and even of awe, which ability, combined with eloquence, alone could have produced, still the revenue of the church was withheld from the preachers*. This revenue was either possessed, as it had formerly been, by popish incumbents, or by protestant nobles, who had received a kind of permission to raise and to appropriate

* Willock was, upon the 14th of September in this year, made superintendent of Glasgow, the Duke, the Earls of Arran and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree being present. Randolph's letter to Cecil of 24th September, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 222. Of Knox, Randolph in a subsequent letter says, "his severity keeps us in marvellous order. I commend better the success of his preachings and doings than the manner."

it,—and although some attempts had been made by the queen to enforce the payment of stipends to the ministers,—although a proclamation had been issued commanding that no respect should be paid to those confirmations from Rome by which the clergy sanctioned the alienation of the property of their order, these measures proved ineffectual; and the teachers who swayed the minds of their countrymen were most unwisely left to depend upon the precarious and scanty benevolence of men, whose eagerness to enrich themselves and their families, had contributed no less powerfully than their regard for religious truth, to decide their attachment to the reformation *.

* Holinshed, in his Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 309, mentions, "that in the course of the winter succeeding the parliament of 1560, the lords of council gave faculties of benefices to divers of their friends, who put forth the prelates and received the fruits. The Earl of Argyll disposed of Dunkeld and Dunblane, the Earl of Arran had the ordering of the bishopric of St Andrews, the abbeys of Melrose and Dunfermline, and other small benefices. The like was used by other noblemen through all parts of the realm." That the revenues of the ecclesiastics were impaired in this way, although the bishops were not entirely put out, is evident from a letter of Randolph to Cecil in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. in which he says, "My Lord of Arran remaineth at St Andrews. He wrote of late unto the council, that he might be answered of the revenues of St Andrews, Melrose and Dunfermline by the queen's authority, as they had put him in possession;" and Knox prefaces his account of the measures taken to provide for the protestant clergy by saying, "the bishops began to grip again to that which they most unjustly called their own, for the Earl of Arran was discharged of St Andrews, wherewith before he, by reason of a factory, intromitted, and so were many others."

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It could not be expected that this degraded and anxious state could be acceptable to the ministers, who were no strangers to the influence which they possessed, or that they would not make the most strenuous efforts to effectuate a change. They saw that the only mode by which they could now hope to obtain a suitable provision, was to keep alive apprehension for the security of the new establishment; they were convinced, that if they permitted the flame of zeal to expire, that, if strictly confining themselves to the discharge of their religious functions, they beheld with indifference the conduct of their rulers, poverty would be their inevitable portion; that thus sinking in the public estimation, their instructions might have less efficacy, and the people be more exposed to the danger of having their faith shaken, or even of being again subjected to the see of Rome. Their interest and their duty thus conspired to render them vigilant, to dispose them to regard every measure of the court as designed against them, to represent the queen as secretly but unceasingly contriving to involve them in destruction.

Their attempts were seconded, and their representations enforced, by a part of the nobles. The Duke and the Earl of Arran, disgusted with the

Knox, B. iv. p. 296. He had said a little before, "until this time, the most part of the ministers had lived upon the benevolence of men." For the other facts in the sentence to which this note refers, see Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. p. 207. Randolph's letter to Cecil, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 222. Knox, B. iv. p. 296.

court, indignant at the confidence which the queen reposed in her brother, kept themselves at a distance from the royal presence; and although the duke at length found it necessary to wait upon his sovereign, and was highly gratified with his reception, he was still persuaded that a scheme had been laid for his ruin; and he had even treated with Randolph, the English minister, to secure such assistance from Elizabeth as would enable him to retain the castle of Dunbarton, in opposition to the will of his own queen *. His son more plainly, or more incautiously, avowed his intentions. When he wrote to the council to confirm him in the possession of the ecclesiastical revenues, which he had for some time collected, he added, that if his request was refused, he would complain unto his brethren, who, from the beginning, had been of the Congregation †.

Reformers divided.

The supporters of the reformation were thus divided. The nobility in general were inclined to stand by their sovereign, while they were most anxious to appropriate the wealth of the church, and to keep the ministers in a state of dependence. The ministers, and the great majority of the people, imputed to this party a desertion of principle,—drew from their conduct a confirmation of the suspicions

* Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 11th November 1561, copied from the Cotton Library, Cal. B. x.; by Crawford, in his Collections, Vol. I. p. 228—231.

† Randolph's letter to Cecil, as last quoted.

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respecting the designs of the queen; and this more numerous body was supported by such of the nobles as had been disappointed in their views, and hoped, by new commotions, to lay open to themselves the road to increased influence or honour.

General assembly. Dec.

While the public mind was thus agitated, and the reformers thus split, the general assembly met at Edinburgh. The courtiers immediately showed much coldness to their former friends. They kept apart from them, and when the superintendents and ministers found fault with this supercilfousness or contempt, they retorted upon their accusers; charged them with holding secret meetings, and with framing resolutions which they were unwilling freely to communicate *. They went even beyond this; questioned the lawfulness of general assemblies, when not convened by an express warrant from the queen, and showed some inclination to attempt their abolition. The zealous adherents of the congregation were astonished and alarmed. Arguing with much keenness against the general principle assumed by the courtiers, they maintained, that as the queen had, by proclamation, sanctioned the form of religion which she had found subsisting at the period of her arrival, she had virtually sanctioned the assemblies of the church, which constituted an essential part of that form; that if the church were to depend upon the sove-

Its deliberations.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 294, 295. Calderwood's History, p. 30.

reign in the manner which had been pointed out, anarchy and tumult would be introduced; that the clergy, exempted from all spiritual controul, might fall into errors, contaminating the purity of religion; and that the reformation of abuses, which, after a long contest had been made, would be done away. 1561.

These reasonings carried conviction to the majority of those who composed the assembly, and the courtiers found it prudent to submit *.

An attempt was made after obtaining this victory, to procure a royal confirmation of the book of discipline, and thus to create a full title, on the part of the ministers, to what had been originally thought adequate for their support. Maitland gave to this the most warm and decided opposition. He spoke with the utmost contempt of the book; and although the nobles composing the secret council had pledged themselves to support it, he succeeded in defeating the wishes of those by whom it had been composed †.

When this important measure thus failed, it became necessary to direct the attention of government to the maintenance of the protestant clergy. With the necessity of forming some immediate plan for this purpose all were impressed; and it was unanimously resolved, to petition the council to

* Knox, B. iv. p. 295. Calderwood's History, p. 30, 31. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 168.

† Knox, B. iv. p. 295, 296. Calderwood, p. 31 Heylin, as last quoted.

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take the subject under their consideration. The council were convinced that the request was most reasonable, and the queen cheerfully gave to it her assent. This is admitted even by Knox, who incidentally shews that little just ground of offence had yet been given to the protestants, by observing, that the rod of impiety was not then strengthened in her hands *.

The council without delay proceeded to make the necessary investigations, and to found upon these such measures as they conceived calculated to remedy the evil so justly deplored. The steps which they adopted it is interesting minutely to trace.

The revenue attached to the crown of Scotland had never been very great. The country, in the early periods of its history, was unable to vie with more wealthy nations in the splendour and magnificence of its sovereigns, and the grants which different kings had, upon various occasions, made, with the unavoidable expence of the wars by which the kingdom had been desolated, had, at the period of Mary's assuming the reins of government, rendered the royal income totally inadequate to defray the necessary expences of the court. The poverty which these wars had extensively spread, rendered any scheme of supplying this deficiency by taxation impracticable, and it was therefore de-

* Knox, B. iv. p. 296. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 27th Dec. in Crawford's Collections, Vol. I. and Keith, B. ii. p. 210. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 168.

termined to assign to the queen a certain proportion of the wealth of the church *. CHAP. XXI.

From the same property the stipends of the clergy were naturally to be paid. Although, as has been mentioned, the most unwarrantable attempts had, amidst the violence of civil commotion, been frequently made to alienate it from the church, it was still esteemed as its inheritance, and it could not legally be destined for any new purpose without the consent of the incumbents by whom it either actually was, or should have been enjoyed. To obtain this consent, the most eminent prelates and ecclesiastics were summoned to attend the council. The necessity of making large sacrifices was of course forcibly represented to them, and although they felt much reluctance to resign what their predecessors had for ages inherited, what they had themselves possessed, and what the laws and the good faith of the country seemed to secure to them, the fear, lest if they remained inflexible, the whole of their benefices would be wrested from them, disposed them to compliance. After much consultation, and a variety of propositions, it was decided that a third part of their revenues should be yielded to the queen, upon condition that they should, without molestation, draw the other two thirds, and that they should be exempted from the obligation of supporting the protestant ministers, 1561. December.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 333. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 189. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, as last quoted.

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who were to be paid out of the proportion granted to the crown *.

1561. Valuation of church revenues.

To ascertain the amount of the third converted into royal revenue, it became necessary to procure a valuation of the annual produce or emoluments of the different benefices. An order of council was accordingly published, commanding that the rentals of all benefices should be produced to the queen and council; the rentals of such benefices as were on the south side of the Grampian hills to be presented by the twenty-fourth day of the ensuing January, the rentals of benefices beyond these mountains to be prepared by the tenth of February. The clergy were not much disposed to proceed with alacrity in a business so disagreeable to them; they indeed paid little attention to the injunction of the council. On the twelfth of February, a very small number of rentals had been exhibited, and it was in consequence resolved, that a new requisition should be made, accompanied with an intimation, that commissioners would be sent to uplift all those benefices, the rentals of

Feb. 12th, 1562.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 333. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 183. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 27th Dec. in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 246, and Keith, B. ii. ch. iii. p. 210. Randolph says that this plan was adopted, invitis et repugnantibus episcopis. He must have had in view the private inclinations or sentiments of the prelates, for the acts of the council, and the statement of historians, render it evident that the bishops gave a public consent. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 317. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 160. Knox, B. iv. p. 296.

which should be withheld beyond a certain time. On the fifteenth the council again determined, that the full amount of the thirds of benefices should be appropriated for the expences of the queen, and for the maintenance of preachers and readers; that these thirds should be collected by persons appointed by the council, commencing from the preceding year, and that the ancient possessors should, by the lords of session, be answered, that is, put in possession of the remainder.

On the last day of February the council anew deliberated upon this important subject. It had been discovered that some churchmen on the one hand, in virtue of special privileges which they claimed, and persons pretending to have been nominated collectors in the queen's absence, on the other, endeavoured, notwithstanding the regulations which had been published, to retain the whole revenue of the benefices with which they were connected. To remedy this, the council prohibited all possessors of teinds, and of other ecclesiastical property, from making payment, till they were charged by letters from the lords of session *. In consequence of these successive acts, rentals were obtained of all the benefices within the kingdom, and the amount was apportioned agree-

* Keith, from the register of the privy council, has given these acts at full length in No. I. of his Appendix to B. iii. of his History, and Knox also has pretty accurately detailed them, B. iv. p. 296—300. He has omitted the order of the last of Feb. and his dates are not so accurate as those of Keith.

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ably to the scheme which, with the consent of the popish clergy, had been sanctioned *.

Thus did government formally recognize the new preachers. By creating a particular fund for their support—by conjoining with the revenue of the crown that fund, and thus pledging the honour of the sovereign that it should be applied for the particular purpose specified in the acts of council, the parliamentary establishment of the protestant religion was legally and constitutionally confirmed by the queen.

The most delicate part of the arrangement with regard to the preachers still, however, remained to be adjusted. A committee of council was nominated to modify stipends, that is, to determine what particular sum each minister was to receive; and Wishart of Pittarrow, who had been always most zealous for the congregation, was appointed to pay the stipends, agreeably to the modification †.

Inadequate support allotted to the Protestant Clergy.

The committee seem to have been abundantly on their guard against corrupting the ministers, by the luxury and profusion of affluence. To many of them a hundred merks, a little more than five pounds, were allotted, to none more than three hundred merks, and the whole annual expence of

* Keith, with his usual accuracy and diligence, has collected a vast mass of curious information respecting the valuations. I have given from this some extracts in the Appendix, No. XII. which are very interesting.

† Knox, B. iv. p. 301. Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. p. 508. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 169.

the establishment of the protestant church in Scotland, with the exception of a separate allowance to four of the superintendents, and to Knox, exceeded very little the sum of twenty thousand pounds *. 1562.

Thus was this arrangement, most important, whether we consider it in reference to the religious or the political state of the kingdom, at length completed. It did not, however, prove satisfactory to any of the parties whose interest it immediately affected. The ecclesiastical holders of benefices considered themselves as injured by the loss of so large a proportion of their wealth; the protestant ministers, not surely without some cause, complained of their slender provision; and although a nominal accession of nearly fifty thousand pounds, a large sum, according to the value of money in those days, was made to the revenue of the crown, the queen derived from it almost no advantage. Numbers of the popish clergy, particularly of those who embraced the reformation, and had in fact renounced at least the exercise of their spiritual privileges, were permitted to retain the thirds of their

* Knox, B. iv. p. 301, compared with Keith, as last quoted. See Appendix to B. iii. of Keith's History, p. 188. From the book of Assumption, it is apparent that no minister received above 300 merks. It follows therefore, that when to the ministers were added exhorters and readers, specified as receiving the sum mentioned in the text, the number of persons considered as connected with the teaching of religion must have been greater than the number of the established clergy at present. Perhaps the regular salaries to the superintendents were included, to which the special sums were added.

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benefices. Several of the nobles received great pensions; a considerable sum was given in charity to destitute nuns and friars; and after all these deductions, the balance was too inconsiderable to relieve any pecuniary embarrassment of the sovereign, or to enable her to support the splendour which should have surrounded her throne *.

The ministers, even from the commencement of the council's deliberations, had been convinced that nothing really effectual would be done for their relief; they openly expressed this conviction, and it soon became too apparent that they had not been mistaken. Not only did they continue to struggle with difficulties which their wretched allotments could not have entirely prevented, difficulties which, keeping alive the horrors of poverty, disquieted their minds, and overwhelmed them with apprehensions about the future condition of their families,—of all indeed who depended upon them; but they did not regularly receive even the insignificant stipends to which they were entitled. So careless was Wishart in paying these stipends, so little did he consult the conveniency or the wants of the preachers, that the favourable opinion of him, to which his former conduct had given rise, was changed, and they lamented the corrupt-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 333. Knox, B. iv. p. 302. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 183. Appendix to B. iii of Keith's History, p. 140. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 307. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 169.

ing influence which his new situation had exerted over his mind *. CHAP. XXI.

The nobility, however, were amply rewarded for the part which they had acted. That proportion of the property of the church which they had seized, was, by the acts of the council, secured to them; and thus the wealth which piety or superstition had originally destined for those who officiated at the altar, which had been increased by the prudence and the industry of those who had possessed it, was finally transferred to men, whose title to it was nothing more than that they had been able to retain what they had dishonestly appropriated. Had a suitable provision been made for the protestant clergy, this revolution in ecclesiastical property, though effectuated by violence, could not have excited much regret. To the ministers or to the crown, the whole patrimony of the church in law or in equity belonged. The full possession of it by the preachers, might have introduced into the clerical order, under the new system, the same luxury and licentiousness which had disgraced the priesthood; and it was obviously more for the advantage of the kingdom, that what remained after giving comfort to the teachers of religion, should be divided amongst a class of men, whose industry it stimulated, whose civilization and refinement it advanced, than that it 1562.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 301.

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should have been vested in the sovereign, whom it might have enabled to sap the foundations of liberty, and even to establish an arbitrary government.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SECOND.

Earl of Huntly discontented....The Queen visits the north of Scotland....She refuses to pardon a son of Huntly....Infatuation of that nobleman....He takes arms....His defeat and death....Execution of his son.... Remarks upon the schemes which he had formed....These schemes disapproved by Mary....Intended interview between the two British Queens....Declined by Elizabeth ....Mary pursues the policy which she originally adopted with regard to religion....New proclamation....General assembly....Preachers condemn the manners of the court....Their austerity....Earl of Murray departs from it....Exertions of Knox in the West of Scotland....He endeavours to preserve tranquillity....He disputes with the Abbot of Crosraguel....Liberty assumed by the preachers in their public discourses....Elizabeth's illness ....Negotiations arising from it....General Assembly.... Attempts of the Catholics....Conduct of the Queen.... Confidence in her restored....She opens the Parliament ....Act of oblivion....Knox and the Ministers dissatisfied....His violent sermon....Queen's conference with him ....Another general Assembly....Popular outrages under pretence of Religion....Ringleaders apprehended.... Knox exerts himself in their favour....His letter.... Murray and Lethington expostulate with him....He is summoned before the Council....Is acquitted....Courtiers dissatisfied with the Ministers....Danger of a rupture between them.

THE troubles to which zeal for religion and anxiety to preserve the independence of their country

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gave rise, had engrossed the attention of all classes of men in Scotland, and suspended the hereditary animosities which had been long fostered in the families of the most illustrious of the nobility. Peace, however, was no sooner restored, and the apprehensions respecting the reformation were in some degree abated, than those turbulent dispositions, the gratification of which was under the feudal governments regarded as the privilege of the great, again exerted their influence, and gave rise to events deeply affecting the most valuable interests of the kingdom.

Earl of Huntly discontented. February, Sept. or Oct.

The Lord James, soon after his return from his military expedition to the border counties, was created Earl of Mar, and some months after, his sister gratified a wish which he had for many years cherished, by conferring on him the earldom of Murray. The Earl of Huntly beheld, with the most violent indignation, the rapid exaltation of a man whom he dreaded and detested; and he was led, from the circumstances connected with the rise of the prior, to entertain a suspicion that a design had been formed at court to ruin himself and his family.

He had long, from the indulgence of government, possessed the extensive domains belonging to the two earldoms of Mar and of Murray, and although he had no reason to consider them as having become his property, he loudly complained that they had been wrested from him to aggrandize a rival,

whose settlement in the centre of his country could not fail to alarm him. There is so much darkness hanging over this part of the history of Scotland, that it is difficult exactly to ascertain what resolutions he was induced to form. It has been asserted that he had determined to assassinate Murray, and it has even been insinuated, apparently without the slightest foundation, that his schemes for this purpose were known to the queen, and were by her secretly approved *. 1562.

That he was highly exasperated when the prior was made Earl of Mar, admits not of a doubt, and an unfortunate event which soon after occurred, gave rise to circumstances which not only destroyed all his confidence in the friendly disposition of the queen, but powerfully contributed to impel him to that conduct which brought on his destruction.

His third son, Sir John Gordon of Findlater, June 27th. having accidentally met Lord Ogilvie, with whom he had been at variance, an encounter took place, in which Ogilvie was severely wounded. Sir John

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 334—336. Knox, B. iv. p. 305. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 183, 184. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 85. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, B. iii. 1st Vol. of octavo edition, p. 284—288. Knox alludes to the suspicions of the queen, but I think it plain that he believed them to be unfounded. He says, "Whether there was any secret faction between the queen and Huntly, we cannot certainly affirm." He would have had no hesitation in affirming this, if he had been satisfied that any such faction existed. P. 315.

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was immediately apprehended and committed to the castle of Edinburgh, but contriving to make his escape, he fled to the north, where he could be protected by his father*.

Queen visits the north of Scotland. Aug.

The queen, with the Earls of Mar, Argyll, Morton, and some other noblemen, being in a progress through the northern parts of Scotland, arrived at Aberdeen not long after the affray had taken place. The Countess of Huntly, a woman of high spirit; but of engaging manners, waited upon Mary, and with the most affectionate earnestness implored not only that her son should be pardoned, but that he should receive permission to come into the royal presence. This the queen most properly and resolutely refused. She insisted upon his surrendering himself, but, at the request of his mother she consented that Stirling should be the place of his imprisonment †.

Refuses to pardon a son of Huntly.

Sir John immediately began his journey to Stirling, but he had not proceeded far before he repented of having expressed a wish to be confined there, and, setting the authority of government completely at defiance, he returned. The queen, exasperated at this conduct, and irritated by the presumption of Huntly, who in person solicited his son's pardon, positively declined accepting an invitation to one of his mansions, which that nobleman

* Knox, p. 315. Keith, B. ii. ch v. p. 222, 223.

† Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, &c. p. 86. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 186.

too eagerly urged. She went to Inverness, intending to reside in the castle, but through the interference of Huntly, who had been accustomed to direct the measures adopted in this part of the kingdom, she could not obtain admission. This was considered as the unequivocal signal of rebellion. She instantly issued proclamations calling upon her faithful subjects to take arms in her defence, and a small force was collected. Huntly, convinced that he had gone too far to hope for forgiveness, and attributing to the enmity of Murray what really resulted from the improper manner in which he had himself acted, resolved to proceed to extremities. Having taken up arms, he was attacked by the queen's troops, under the command of Murray; his retainers were put to the route; two of his sons were taken prisoners, he himself expired in the field, and his dead body was carried to Aberdeen*.

Infatuation of that nobleman.

Takes arms. Oct. 28th.

Sir John Gordon, whose rashness certainly hastened this fatal defiance, was beheaded a few days after the battle. His fate excited the strongest feelings of sympathy and compassion. Elegant in his person, and accomplished in his mind, he had gained the esteem and affection of those who were attached to his family; and the natural effect of his youth and his rank upon those who witnessed the

Execution of his son. Oct. 30th.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 318—320. Crawford's Lives, p. 86, 87. Keith, B. ii. ch. v. p. 228. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 186, 187. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 320, 321. Buchanan. Lib. xvii. p. 337—339. Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 266, 267.

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premature termination of his life, was much increased by the shocking manner in which, from the unskilfulness of the executioner, his body was mangled. The other son, on account of his youth, was pardoned *.

This illustrious house now exhibited a striking example of the mutability of fortune. Long possessed almost of royal power and royal affluence, adversity pressed on it with the most cruel severity. Lord Gordon, the eldest son, who had married a daughter of the Duke of Chatelherault, was apprehended and condemned; and although, through the interposition of the queen, his life was preserved, his immense estates were confiscated, while he was detained a prisoner in the castle of Dunbar, till, in consequence of a revolution in the counsels of Mary, he was delivered and restored to her favour †.

Remarks upon the schemes which he had formed.

The fate of Huntly spread a dark gloom over the minds of all who were devoted to the popish religion. Although this powerful nobleman had, upon various occasions, acted with much duplicity or hypocrisy, he seems to have been at length fully convinced that it was his most cautious and wise policy to conjoin his interest with that of the priesthood, and of the faction by whom the church was supported. Though the uncles of the queen had,

* Buch. Lib. xvii. p. 339. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 187. Crawford's Lives, p. 87.

† See extracts from the records of parliament, in Crawford's Lives of the Earls of Huntly, who had been chancellors of Scotland. Keith, B. ii. ch. v. p. 229. Knox, B. iv. p. 321.

during their residence in Scotland, very prudently declined to countenance his plans for re-establishing the ancient worship, they reported, upon their return to France, his zeal and his influence; and the cardinal of Lorrain, who watched for every opportunity of attacking the reformers, devised a scheme of combining with the efforts of Huntly the power of the queen, and of thus cutting off such of the nobility as had most steadily supported and most assiduously protected the adherents of the Congregation. Letters were accordingly written to Mary, advising her to encourage the designs of Huntly, and even to flatter him with the hope that she would marry one of his sons. To induce her to enter cordially into these hazardous and criminal measures, the most explicit promises were given, that money would be liberally furnished for conducting any enterprize intended to give stability to the catholic church, or to save it from the ruin with which it was threatened.

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Disapproved by Mary.

Mary saw the wildness of such policy, and probably detested the guilt which it implied. With admirable judgment she communicated the letters to Murray, and thus gave decisive proof of the confidence which she reposed in him, and in the party which he directed *.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 336. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 85. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 185, compared with Keith, B. ii. p. 224, 225, who endeavours to discredit Buchanan's narration, but produces no authority in support of his own opinion.

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Had Huntly acted with prudence and moderation, had he uniformly extended his patronage to the catholics and encouraged them to revere him as the zealous defender of their church, he might, with the means which he possessed, have become, in process of time, a most formidable enemy to the protestant establishment; might have acquired a great ascendancy over the mind of the queen, and, with her aid, and that of the catholic powers on the continent, might have succeeded in reducing Scotland to the ecclesiastical servitude from which it had been so recently delivered. The fact that he never appears to have entertained these extensive views, affords much ground for imagining that he had not calmly determined to oppose his sovereign or her government, but that he had been driven, by accidental occurrences mortifying his pride and stimulating his passions, to those ill digested efforts which so speedily terminated in his own death—in the misery and depression of his family*.

Intended interview between the two British Queens.

In the course of this year negotiations were carried on between Elizabeth and Mary respecting an interview which the queen of Scotland had propos-

* Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. notes to pages 291, 299. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 18th Nov. 1562, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 262. This minister believed that schemes had been formed by Huntly for the assassination of Murray and the most eminent of the protestant lords, but his information was probably derived from those who wished, for particular reasons, to circulate this idea. See also Maitland's letter to Cecil, dated 14th Nov. in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 258.

ed, and which many of her counsellors warmly approved. They had now discerned the justness of the opinion which Knox had formed with regard to Mary's attachment to the catholic religion. They were persuaded that no reasonings of theirs, that no discourses of their preachers would make any impression; but unwilling to relinquish all hope of her conversion, they flattered themselves that the representations and arguments of Elizabeth, distinguished as she was by the soundness of her judgment, and standing in a situation which would secure the most respectful attention to what she urged, might exhibit the subject of religion in a light in which their own sovereign had not allowed herself to contemplate it, and might at any rate convince her of the policy of professing tenets embraced by the great majority of her subjects *. 1562.

Having consulted her privy-council upon the propriety of meeting Elizabeth in England, and having received their opinion, that if the safety of her own person could be secured, the most beneficial consequences might follow from such an interview, Maitland, the secretary, was sent to London to make formally the proposal †. Elizabeth could May 19th.

* Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 185. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 218. Randolph's correspondence with Cecil. Instructions to Sir Henry Sydney, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 262. Camden's Annals, p. 75.

† Keith, B. ii. ch. iv. p. 216. Letter from Maitland to Cecil, dated 27th Feb. 1562, and published from the original in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 379.

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not decently refuse her consent to a measure which, from her connection with Mary, and the many professions of esteem and affection which she had often made, might so naturally have been considered as in the highest degree acceptable to her. She accordingly affected to feel much satisfaction: articles in reference to the interview were drawn up; a safe-conduct was granted to the Scotish queen; and all parties in Scotland looked forward with anxiety to the result of the conference. The protestants, who were attached to Elizabeth, delighted themselves with the idea that the two kingdoms would thus be united in the most friendly alliance, while the catholics dreaded that the resolution of Mary would be shaken, and that hence the possibility of their future triumph would be destroyed.

Declined by Elizabeth.

The hopes of the one and the fears of the other were soon blasted and dissipated. The English queen, availing herself of some events which had occurred in France, urged them as a pretext for delaying the interview; and although she declared that the delay was only for a year, she probably intended, what really happened, that it should never take place*.

This resolution was, at the period of its being formed, not disagreeable to Mary. That the queen of Scotland was at one time anxious for an interview cannot be doubted. The proposal originated

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 393. Keith, B. ii. ch. v. p. 219—222. Camden's Annals, p. 74. See a curious passage connected with this subject in Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

with herself, and there were several political reasons which could scarcely fail to influence her determination with regard to it. Firmly persuaded of her right to the throne of England, knowing that many of the inhabitants of that country were desirous that she should sway the sceptre, sensible of her beauty, and the effect which her fascinating manners had produced even upon her own rugged nobles, it was not unnatural for her to believe that she would, by visiting England, more thoroughly confirm the attachment of the catholics, and that she might secure the affections of many who, though friends to the protestant faith, might not be averse to assist her, if she should find an opportunity forcibly, and with a prospect of success, to urge her pretensions. By thus forming or increasing a party in England, she saw that she would render herself much less dependent upon Elizabeth—that she would be able to fight her with her own weapons, and that the perception of this might not only lead the English queen to act towards her with an attention which she had never shewn, but even to consent to an arrangement by which her throne would, in the event of her death, and of her remaining unmarried, be filled by Mary. Mature reflection, however, had convinced Mary that there were hazards attending the interview more than sufficient to counterbalance any advantages which could be derived from it. By leaving her own dominions, she put herself completely in the power of

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Elizabeth, who had already shewn some intention to deprive her of liberty; and by acting without advice or approbation from France, there was a danger of incurring the displeasure of that court, and of thus alienating the power upon whose assistance she chiefly calculated, if she should ever declare against Elizabeth.

If the English queen was ever sincere in the joy with which she professed to anticipate a meeting with Mary, this joy was certainly of momentary duration. Her jealous mind at once discerned all the evils which might flow from the presence of her rival. She was apprehensive that cabals might be commenced, and she shrunk from the idea that her people should witness how very far the personal charms of Mary excelled her own*.

The protestants in Scotland were disappointed that the conference between the two queens did not take place, but they were so without any sufficient reason. A knowledge of human nature, or even of the firmness with which Mary had adhered to her religion, might have shewn them, that she would be as little moved by Elizabeth as she had been by the efforts of her own subjects. The superiority which exhortations from the English queen would have implied, the cold dignified manner in

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 336. Camden's Annals, p. 75, 76. Spottiswoode, B iv. p. 185. Keith, B. ii. ch. iv. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 318. Mac'enzie's Life of Mary in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 365. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

which these would have been given, the mutual jealousies which so many causes threatened to excite, would rather have strengthened than shaken faith, and would, in all likelihood, have led to calamities which every friend to his country would have deeply deplored *.

Mary pursues her original policy with regard to religion.

Whatever were the secret intentions of the Scotish queen with regard to religion, she steadily pursued the policy which, at her arrival, she had determined to embrace. While she would not relinquish her own right to worship God according to her conscience, she strictly conformed to the proclamation which she had issued in favour of the protestants; and when some of the zealous catholics, trusting to her indulgence, ventured to solemnize the rites of their church, she published a new proclamation, in which she commanded all to conform to the order which had been settled, and denounced the most severe punishments against such as continued to disobey the injunctions which she had given with regard to religion †.

New proclamation, May 31st.

General assembly, June 29th.

About midsummer, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh. A number of regulations for preserving the purity, and giving vigour to the discipline of the church, were proposed and sanctioned; the duty of superintendents was more minutely detailed, and their subjection to the great body of pastors was enforced. A petition from Alexander,

* Camden's Annals, p. 75. Spottiswode, B. iv. p. 185.

† Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. p. 510, from the register of the privy-council.

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Gordon, who had been bishop of Galloway, having been presented, in which that prelate requested that he might be constituted superintendent of the district included in his former diocese, the assembly refused to admit him to the office till it was ascertained whether his admission would be acceptable to the churches over which he was to preside, and till he subscribed the book of discipline. This resolution plainly shews that the reformers did not consider the bishops as having any right to continue in their dioceses, even when they abjured the popish faith; but that they required all the ecclesiastical offices, under the new establishment, to be conferred by the authority recognized or constituted by that establishment.

Many complaints were made, both of the insufficiency of the provision for the clergy, and of the irregularity with which it was paid. In some cases it could not be obtained, those of the priesthood, to whom the thirds of their benefices had been remitted, considering themselves as exempted from the obligation of supporting the ministers; and in all cases difficulties or delays occurred, which rendered the situation of the teachers most deplorable. The neglect which they experienced was extended to the places in which they officiated; for it was stated to the assembly, that many churches were permitted to go to ruin. These facts could not be disregarded, and it was unanimously resolved to present a supplication to her

majesty and the council, imploring the redress of grievances, so unfavourable to the influence of the church, and so directly in opposition to the regulations which government had lately sanctioned. CHAP. XXII. 1562.

But the attention of the members of this assembly was not confined to the condition of the pastors; much of their time was occupied in considering the general situation of the country, in devising measures for effectually guarding against the encroachments of popery, and for securing the divine blessing. It having been determined that the opinion of the superintendents and ministers upon these interesting subjects, should be inserted in the supplication to the queen and council, Knox presented a copy of what he conceived should be that opinion. In this paper, the evils which would result even from the most restricted permission of the mass, and the inconsistency of the Romish service with the word of God, were expressed in language so indelicately violent, that the queen, had it been conveyed to her, must have been offended—must have reprobated those who used it, as deficient in that respect to which she was so justly entitled, and without which the name of royalty alone would have remained. The introduction will afford a sufficient specimen of the manner in which it was composed. "Having in mind that fearful sentence pronounced by the eternal God against the watchmen, who see the sword of God's judgment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the

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people, yea the princes and rulers, that they may repent, we cannot but signify unto your highness and council, that the state of this realm is such, that unless redress and remedy be shortly provided, God's hand cannot long spare in his anger to strike the head and tail, the inobedient prince and sinful people."

The obvious design of this supplication, at least its obvious tendency, was to spread an alarm for the protestant faith – to represent the queen as its great enemy, and to insinuate that the most awful judgments might be expected to descend upon the people, if they did not resist the idolatry which she practised.

The commissioners of assembly who were attached to the court were offended and shocked with these sentiments, and Maitland, with his accustomed ability, inveighed against them. With great force he shewed the impropriety of asserting that the queen had an intention of restoring popery; he proved, from the whole of her conduct, that there was no foundation for such a charge; and he affirmed, that the attempt to infuse such ideas into the minds of the people was no less than treason. Knox, in his reply, insisted upon the danger to which the protestants were exposed by the queen's adherence to her religion, declaring that it would be too late to complain when their ministers were stricken, their superintendents disobeyed, and a plain rebellion decreed against all good order.

Maitland treated these apprehensions as totally imaginary; and notwithstanding the veneration with which Knox was regarded, the assembly was convinced that he had, in this instance, displayed unnecessary warmth. The members could not forget the proclamation which, only a month before, the queen had emitted; and the recollection of it, conjoined with the arguments of the secretary, so far influenced them, that while they wished to adhere to the substance of what Knox had suggested, they solicited Maitland to draw a representation to the sovereign, in such language as he judged it proper and expedient to use. He readily complied, and the change of style which thus was occasioned, did not escape the penetration of Mary; for when the supplication was presented to her by the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, she observed, "here are many fair words, I cannot tell what their hearts are *."

Preachers condemn the manners of the court.

While the ministers were thus zealously defending the protestant establishment, they distinguished themselves by the vehemence with which they inveighed against the gaiety and the amusements by which Mary endeavoured to give attractions to

* Knox, B. iv. p. 311—315, has given the supplication as proposed by him, and the debate which followed. For the rest of the transactions of the assembly, and for some additional information upon this point, see also Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. p. 511—515. Calderwood, p. 92. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 170. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 265. Petrie's Church History, Part II. p. 232.

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her court, and to soften or civilize those by whom it was attended.

The profligacy of the popish clergy had justly disgusted the people of Scotland, long before the introduction of the reformation. The shocking indecency with which even the higher orders of these clergy avowed or practised this profligacy, had afforded the reformers infinite advantage in their attempts to give a new direction to the public mind, and they were naturally led from the zeal with which they branded its criminality, to go to an opposite extreme, to assume a rigid austereness and severity of manners. This they brought themselves to consider as the attendant, and in fact the sign of sincere religion; and they did not hesitate to declare against the most harmless enjoyments, as indicating, in those who partook of them, a levity of disposition little consonant with the gravity or the depression which reflection upon the fallen and corrupted state of human nature should, as they imagined, uniformly excite.

Their austerity.

Eager to conjoin with the doctrines which they opposed every practice which they reprobated, they represented the levity against which they directed their eloquence, as one of the evils of popery, and in this they were confirmed, or endeavoured to confirm those who heard them, by the striking revolution in the modes of social intercourse which the arrival of the queen had introduced. Edu-

cated in the most refined court of Europe, attached, from constitution, and from her youth, to the pleasures with which she had been long familiar, she wished to transplant them into her own dominions. She delighted in music, dancing, and other elegant accomplishments, and the taste for these, which she was desirous should become universal, soon began to prevail. 1562.

Knox and his admirers contemplated all this with horror. Nothing, indeed, could present a more marked contrast to their gloomy and forbidding habits. Making no allowance for youth, for education, and for diversity of customs, they taught that the dissoluteness of the court called aloud for judgment, and in their sermons they held it up to the detestation of the crowds, who took from them the direction of their sentiments.

The lords of the Congregation had in this respect generally coincided with the preachers. The Earl of Murray was, in a particular manner, distinguished by the strictness of his self-denial; and as he did not, for some time after he resided at court, change his mode of life, he was upon this account extolled as exhibiting an example of the purest virtue. Unfortunately, however, even he did not uniformly adhere to the maxims which he had professed to respect. Soon after receiving the title of Earl of Mar, he married Lady Agnes Keith, a daughter of the Earl Marischal. The marriage ceremony was per- Earl of Murray departs from it.

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formed in church, and the opportunity was not lost of guarding him against the revelry and merriment in which, upon such occasions, it was becoming fashionable to indulge. He was exhorted to shun such vanity, to conduct himself as became one from whom the church of God had received comfort,—a mode of acting which was held forth as peculiarly necessary, because if he departed from it, it might be thought that his wife had changed his nature. Notwithstanding this earnest caution, the entertainment which he gave exceeded in splendour any thing which had been before witnessed, and it was rendered in the highest degree offensive by the introduction of masquerades, which the ministers, with much reason, considered as most unfavourable to morality. The godly were offended, his friends were filled with astonishment and regret; and many who would have seen no impropriety in such magnificence had others displayed it, contrasted it with the demeanour which he had hitherto maintained, and deduced conclusions not favourable to his sincerity, or to the cause which he had so strenuously supported *.

While every attempt to restrain profligacy and vice is entitled to the gratitude of mankind,—while it must be admitted, that immoderate attachment to the dissipating amusements of fashionable life

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 334. Knox, B. iv. p. 302. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 175.

is most prejudicial to the improvement of the mind, and to the purity of the character, it is certainly to be lamented, that religious men have too frequently proscribed those comforts and blessings, evidently intended by the beneficence of Providence to heighten the enjoyment of this transitory world. They have, in express opposition to the general spirit of Christianity, and to the amiable and engaging example of its benevolent Author, been instrumental in creating associations between gloominess and piety, which, however obviously unreasonable, have extensively prejudiced the human mind, and prevented admiration of that heavenly doctrine, so delicately and kindly adapted to elevate our nature, to refine and to exalt our felicity. In Britain, this error of the reformers for a considerable period decided the complexion of the national character. Their austerity, and the austerity of those who succeeded them, paved the way for the licentiousness, the profaneness, the mockery of religion, which, at the restoration, spread through the kingdom; and which, although now, it is to be hoped, giving way to juster sentiments and feelings, are very far from having ceased to influence the opinions of many, whose example is too powerful in disseminating infidelity—in poisoning the purest sources of virtue.

Exertions of Knox in the west of Scotland.

During the autumn, Knox, in consequence of a commission given to him by the general assembly, went to the western parts of Scotland, where he

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not only preached to the great body of the people, but was most active in prevailing upon the higher ranks to unite for defending the protestant religion, and preserving the peace of the country. He was led to this by his apprehension, that through the solicitations of the Earl of Huntly, who was then in rebellion, there would be a general insurrection of those attached to the ancient faith. This circumstance satisfactorily explains why he proposed a bond of association, which, had there been no formidable danger threatening the protestants, must have been ascribed, not merely to a distrust of government, but to a resolution to oppose it. This bond, intended to secure the most zealous support to the reformed church, and to its ministers, was subscribed at Ayr, by a great number of the most respectable barons and gentlemen of the surrounding country, who, it cannot be conceived, would have done so, had they considered the bond as calculated to sow sedition—as having any other object than to ward off the attacks of the catholics.

Endeavours to preserve tranquillity

Sept. 4th.

The subsequent conduct of Knox places it beyond a doubt that he had no designs hostile to the state. Believing, justly or not, that attempts would be made to unite, for one great effort, the adherents of popery in Scotland, he expressed to many persons the fears by which he was agitated. He prevailed upon the Master of Maxwell, a man of judgment and experience, to endeavour to induce the Earl of Bothwell, who had just escaped from

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prison, and who, from the profligacy of his character, was supposed to be inclined to insurrection, to preserve tranquillity in the parts committed to his charge; and Knox corresponded with the Duke, who was dissatisfied with the measures of the court, with the view of prevailing upon him not to follow the advice of his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, or to promote the schemes of Huntly, with whom, by the marriage of his son, he was intimately connected. The fact is, that during the insurrections in the north, the south and the west of Scotland remained quiet; and Knox attributes this to the measures which he adopted *. 1562.

Dispute with the abbot of Crossraguel.

During his residence in Galloway, he was challenged by the abbot of Crossraguel, one of the most able champions of popery, to dispute with him upon the subject of the mass. No effect was produced by the conference: Both parties claimed the victory; both desisted from the contest, more attached to the opinions which had been previously entertained †.

Liberty assumed by the preachers in their public discourses.

The queen, with her court, resided at Edinburgh for the greater part of the ensuing winter. The preachers declaimed with much fervour against the

* Knox, B. iv. p. 316—318. Keith, B. iii. ch. ii. p. 515. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. Both Keith and Heylin give a very imperfect account of this business. Keith is inexcusable. He calls the bond a seditious one, while he makes no mention of Knox's successful endeavours to preserve tranquillity.

† Knox, B, iv. p. 318. Mackenzie's life of Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 57.

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vices which prevailed; and, not confining themselves to general reasoning and instruction, they attacked from the pulpit the individuals whose conduct they disapproved. Their sermons were thus converted into personal invectives, directly calculated to irritate the passions, but not at all to affect the consciences, or to convince the understandings of those whom they sought to reform. The courtiers, although attached to the faith which the ministers inculcated, were disgusted with the freedom which they assumed—felt indignant at the representations, often unfounded, which they made to the people, and endeavoured to correct the evil. The preachers, however, were not disposed to renounce a privilege which gratified their vanity, raised them in the estimation of the multitude, and perhaps too frequently afforded a vehicle for private prejudice, for secret malice, and unwarrantable antipathy. They rested the defence of their conduct upon their being obliged to brand corruption wherever it was openly practised, pleading that they could not neglect this duty without betraying the trust which had been reposed in them as instructors of religion*.

Illness of Elizabeth.

Towards the conclusion of this year Elizabeth was taken ill, and her complaints assumed so alarming an appearance, as to render it prudent in her council to direct their attention towards the

* Knox, B. iv. p. 342. Keith, P. iii. ch. iii. p. 516.

succession to the throne. Mary felt the deepest interest in their discussions; and her ministers made every effort to establish her right. Lethington, in a letter to Cecil, written with much art and ability, after shewing that the connection which the queen of Scotland had both with France and England, would render it very difficult for her to decide what part she ought to take in a war which had unfortunately broken out between these kingdoms, insinuates that it would be wise policy in Elizabeth firmly to attach his sovereign to her interest. What his great object was he renders apparent by declaring, that the danger in which he heard that the queen of England lately was, led him to write earnestly upon this subject; the more so that a report had reached him, that there had been some intention of excluding Mary from the English crown. This report had been brought into Scotland by Villemont, a man of whom Randolph wrote, that there was wanting in him no good will to do mischief; giving, as a proof of this, his circulating the rumour, that if Elizabeth had been cut off, the queen of Scotland was barred from all succession *.

Nov. 11th.

* Lethington's and Randolph's letters to Cecil, the former dated 14th of Nov. the latter the 18th Nov. 1562, copied from originals in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. by Crawford, inserted in his Collections, Vol. I. p. 258-262, and printed by Keith, B. ii. ch. v. This illness of Elizabeth is not mentioned by Rapin, or, if I recollect, by any of the English Historians; it is however placed beyond a doubt by these letters, and by a paper of instructions from the queen

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1562. Negotiations arising from it.

Soon after this the secretary was dispatched upon an embassy to the English court. He was instructed, after congratulating Elizabeth upon her recovery, to express Mary's earnest wish that peace might be restored between France and England, two nations in which she took so much interest; and he was also enjoined, if he should esteem it necessary—if he should perceive any inclination to deprive her of the right of succession, to bring to the recollection of Elizabeth, all which had passed upon the subject, and to desire to have access to the house of parliament, that, in presence of the estates of the realm, he might declare the validity of his sovereign's title, and her determination to assert it *. Happily for the reformation the queen of England recovered. It is not improbable, however, that she discovered the eagerness with which Mary had interfered respecting the succession, and that this contributed to augment the fear, the antipathy, and the jealousy, with which, notwithstanding her deceitful expressions of tender affection, she had long regarded her accomplished rival.

Effect of them upon Elizabeth.

General assembly, 25th Dec.

Another General Assembly was, at the conclusion of this year, held at Edinburgh. In it that part of

of Scots to Maitland, in which he is commanded to congratulate Elizabeth upon her recovery from dangerous sickness. These instructions, taken from the shattered MSS. are in Keith, B. ii. ch. v.

* Keith, B. ii. ch. v. p. 235---237, from the shattered MSS. in the Advocates' Library. Knox has also mentioned this embassy of Maitland, in B. iv. p. 321 of his History.

the book of discipline was carried into effect which required the superintendents to submit to the examination of the whole church. The superintendent of Fife was delated, because he was not sufficiently diligent in his visitations; because he was negligent in preaching, and rash in excommunicating; while it was laid to the charge of the superintendent of Angus, that there were many popish priests unqualified, and of vicious life, who were admitted to be readers in the churches under his care; that young men were rashly admitted to be ministers and exhorters without having undergone the examination required by the book of discipline; that gentlemen of irregular lives were nominated to be elders; that residence was neglected by the ministers; that many parochial duties were negligently performed, and that the instruction of youth was not sufficiently enforced*. With respect to the administration of sacraments, it was resolved, that the form used by the English church at Geneva should be adopted, and that the Lord's Supper should be dispensed four times a-year in towns, and twice a-year in country parishes. Superintendents were instructed to present to the lords appointed to assign stipends, the names of the ministers, exhorters, and readers, within their dioceses; and complaints having been again made that stipends were not adequate to the support of ministers, the comptroller, the justice-

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* Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 32. Keith, B. iii. ch. iii. p. 517.

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clerk, and the clerk-register, required the superintendents to specify the cases where provision was not sufficient, that it might be augmented, promising that where the thirds of benefices had been remitted, they would take measures for securing the payment of the stipends, and for putting ministers in possession of their manses and glebes*.

The utmost attention to the church seems, at this time, to have been paid by government, and the effect of this was very discernible in the temper of the assembly. There was evidently a desire not to harass the queen; for when some persons stated that idolatry was erected in divers parts of the kingdom, and suggested that a new supplication should be addressed to her, no inclination was shewn to comply with the suggestion. When, to those who asked what answer had been returned to the former supplication, the superintendent of Lothian said that he had delivered it, but had received no reply, the delay was most readily excused, upon this ground, that the troubles, which since that time had taken place, had engrossed her attention; while the whole assembly expressed their conviction, that before the meeting of parliament in May, such steps would be taken as would impart general satisfaction†. The

* Keith, B. iii. ch. iii. p. 520, from the Register and from Calderwood's MS. History.

† Knox, B. iv. p. 323. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 185, mentions, that when the queen was at Stirling in her progress north, soon after the meeting of the assembly in June, a petition was presented to her by certain commissioners of the church, which, from the manner in

ministers, indeed, had no cause to be dissatisfied with the queen's conduct, which had been regulated toward them with the most scrupulous caution; and they had the heart-felt satisfaction of perceiving, that since her arrival, the numbers of the reformed had rapidly increased *. CHAP. XXII. 1562.

Notwithstanding the determination which the queen had shewn to secure the religion of the king- 1563. Attempts of the catholics.

which he speaks of it, must have been the supplication voted at that assembly; and that after having perused it, she made answer, that she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion which she professed, and hoped before a year was expired, to have the mass and catholic profession restored throughout the kingdom. This is also told by Heylin in his Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 170. There is, however, strong internal evidence against this account, for nothing, but the most astonishing imprudence could have led Mary to give an answer which, she must have known, would excite the zeal and indignation of the majority of her subjects. But independently of this, there is positive proof that no such answer was returned. The supplication was drawn up by Lethington in such mild terms, that, instead of being enraged, the queen was amazed at the change of style, and made the remark upon it which has been mentioned; and the superintendent of Lothian, who presented it, positively declared to the assembly that no answer was given. If the queen had been so incautious, Knox would have severely animadverted upon the reply; there certainly would have been no occasion for his inserting in his history an apology for her silence. The letter of Maitland to Cecil, which has been already quoted, shews plainly that Mary had been studious to avoid giving offence, in as far as she could do so without relinquishing her right to observe her own religion. Alluding to the intention to deprive her of the English throne, he thus writes: "If her religion hath moved any thing, seeing her behaviour such towards those that be of the religion within her own realm, yea, and the religion itself, which is a great deal more increased since she came home than it was before, I see no reason why those who be zealous of religion should suspect her."

* Maitland's letter to Cecil, mentioned in the preceding note.

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dom as she found it established or professed, the zeal of the catholics occasionally impelled them to make an ostentatious display of the worship sanctioned by their church. During Lent of this year, numbers had openly celebrated mass, and had, in the western parts of Scotland, thus excited such violent indignation, that the people tumultuously endeavoured to inflict upon them the most severe punishment. The queen resolved to prevent such flagrant disregard of the proclamations which she had published. The archbishop of St Andrews, the prior of Whithorn, and several other distinguished ecclesiastics, who had been guilty, were apprehended; a day was fixed for their trial, and although Mary felt much reluctance to proceed with severity against the primate, she did not arrest the course of law, so that he with the others was sentenced to be imprisoned*.

Conduct of the Queen.

Confidence restored.

These vigorous proceedings dissipated the alarm of the protestants. Notwithstanding the warmth and eloquence of their preachers, who continued to warn them against being deluded by appearances intended to deceive them, their confidence in the queen was restored, and they indulged the sanguine hope, that, whatever might be her own sentiments, she would countenance no attempt hostile to the

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 339. Knox, B. iv. p. 326. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 187, 188. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 321, 322. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 378. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 105. Abstract of Randolph's letters to Cecil in 1563, Crawford, Vol. I. p. 270. Keith, p. 521.

tenets of her subjects*. These impressions were most grateful to Mary, and tended to remove the apprehension with which she anticipated the approaching parliament. It is certain, that she was much afraid that this parliament would press her in matters of religion,—would either interfere with the liberty of her conscience, or solicit her to sanction those acts in favour of the reformation which had been passed by the parliament held in virtue of the treaty of Edinburgh†. 1563.

She soon perceived, however, that her fears were without foundation. The barons and gentlemen who composed the estates were inclined to believe that the protestant establishment was in no danger; while Murray, and some of the most zealous lords of the Congregation, were most desirous not to irritate the queen, lest she should either not assemble parliament, or refuse to grant confirmations of estates and honours, which they were eager to obtain‡. They resolved, therefore, to make no allusion to the obnoxious parliament connected with the treaty, but assuming the existence and legality of the new ecclesiastical policy, to pass a few laws respecting it, which, while they contributed to the satisfaction and comfort of the preachers, would in fact strengthen it by the royal sanction.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 330. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 188.

† Abstract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 1st of May, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 269.

‡ Knox, B. iv. p. 330.

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1563. May 23d. She opens the Parliament.

The parliament commenced its deliberations in May. The queen repaired to it with a degree of pomp and magnificence which the sovereigns of Scotland had never before used. She delivered a speech in the English language, with all the graces of the most fascinating elocution; and when we recollect the incomparable beauty of the speaker, we cannot wonder that it was heard with the most profound attention—with the most enthusiastic admiration *.

Several acts were passed in relation to the church. Manses were declared to pertain to the ministers, churches were ordered to be kept in repair, and with the intention of gratifying the preachers who had with great energy discoursed against the immorality of the times, and had repeatedly petitioned that some remedy might be applied, it was enacted that adultery should be punished with death. The great public business, however, was the formation of an act of oblivion for all offences committed against the sovereign, from the commencement of the late troubles in fifteen hundred and fifty-eight, and much care and attention were bestowed to render it sufficiently explicit and comprehensive. When it was presented for the sanction of the queen,

Act of oblivion.

* Knox, with all the disposition which he felt to detract from the effect produced by the queen's speech, cannot conceal the admiration which it excited, B. iv. p. 330. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 339. Abstract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 3d June, in Crawford's Collections, Vol. I. p. 270. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 176.

her fears of doing any thing which, even by construction, could be interpreted as a confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, rendered her reluctant to give her approbation. That it might not therefore be lost, an event which would have agitated and convulsed the kingdom, it was agreed that the lords in parliament should, upon their knees, request that she would grant to it the royal sanction. With this earnestness of supplication, sufficiently illustrating the importance and necessity of the act, she immediately complied *.

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Among the unprinted acts of this parliament, is one entitled, For eschewing of dearth of vivors and victualles. It took its rise from a severe famine, occasioned by an unfavourable season; and in the spirit of these times, a spirit which, far from being extinguished, seems unhappily, notwithstanding the advancement of science, to be gaining strength in this country even at the present day, this famine was considered by the reformers as a clear indication of the displeasure of God that the popish worship was not exterminated †.

* The act of oblivion is inserted at full length in Sir Thomas Murray's Collection of Laws and Acts of Parliament, p. 162. The other acts above mentioned are also printed in that Collection. The queen's aversion to ratify the act of oblivion is mentioned by Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 188.

† Acts of parliament last quoted, p. 172. Knox, B. iv. p. 325, 326. Buch. Lib. xvii. p. 339. Keith, B. ii. ch. v. p. 237. Knox, in speaking of this famine, mentions the prices of several articles of food. A boll of wheat was sold for six pounds Scots, a boll of bear for six merks and a half, a boll of meal for four merks, a boll of

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That men, limited in knowledge and in power, should thus venture to interpret the intentions of Omnipotence, affords a humiliating proof how little they are guided by reason,—how far they are from being influenced by the humane and benevolent spirit of that religion, of which the persons, who readily and decisively indulge in such constructions, generally affect to be the most zealous defenders, or the brightest examples.

Knox and the ministers dissatisfied.

With the whole proceedings of this parliament, Knox and the ministers were highly dissatisfied. They reprobated the rich dresses of the queen and her attendants, in language little consonant to the delicacy of modern times; saw, in this harmless or proper display of magnificence, a grievous sin, which would probably bring down the judgment of God, not only upon the foolish women who were guilty of it, but upon the whole kingdom; and they made some ineffectual and certainly most useless attempts for the regulation of dress, and other such enormities *.

But they were most seriously offended that no explicit confirmation of the protestant doctrine and discipline had been demanded from the queen. They thought, and perhaps justly, that this oppor-

oats for fifty shillings Scots, an ox to draw in the plough, twenty merks, a wedder thirty shillings Scots; and so, he adds, all things pertaining to the sustentation of man in triple, and more, exceeded their accustomed prices.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 330.

tunity ought not to have been lost, and Knox so strongly expressed his disapprobation, that the Earl of Murray was irritated and offended to such a degree, that notwithstanding their long and intimate friendship, all kindly intercourse between them ceased for a year and a half *. Even the acts which respected the church they considered as framed in such a manner that it would be impossible to carry them into execution. The act of oblivion passed, says Knox, because some of the lords were interested, but the acts against adultery, and for the manses and glebes, were so modified, that no laws and such laws were both alike. In this opinion he was perfectly right †.

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During the sitting of parliament, he preached a sermon, in which, with much intemperance and disrespect, he described the feelings with which he beheld their proceedings. He acknowledged that his manner of speaking upon that occasion was judged intolerable; that protestants and papists were equally offended by it; that even his most intimate friends unequivocally condemned his con-

His violent sermon.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 331. He says the matter fell so hot betwixt the Earl of Murray and John Knox, that familiarly after that time they spake not together for a year and a half. They had, however, some interviews, to one of which we shall soon advert, but regard for the cause, not for the man, led Murray to request it. He was unwilling that Knox should do any thing which would suspend his usefulness. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 176, 177.

† Knox, p. 331. Keith, p. 240.

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duct. The queen was much exasperated with what appeared to her to be licentiousness of discourse, aggravated by ingratitude. She had, a little before this, treated him with the most winning condescension; had consulted him about some unfortunate difference between the Earl of Argyll and his countess, which she had felt much anxiety to remove; and had listened to the rather free remonstrances of the reformer with a calmness which astonished him, but which he very uncharitably attributed to the deepest artifice and deceit *. His present violence convinced her that all attempts to soften his asperity would be vain. She reproached him with much heat and agitation; but where he was convinced that he was right, he was inflexible; and after endeavouring to defend himself he was dismissed from her presence. She had some intention of employing punishment to restrain what was so nearly allied to sedition, but she yielded to the representations which were made to her respecting the hazard of extending the hand of power against a man who was idolized as the dauntless champion of the new faith †.

Queen's conference with him.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 320.

† Knox, B. iv. p. 333, 334. The contrast between the sternness of Knox and the politeness of Erskine of Dun, who was present at this conference, is very naturally painted by the former in his History. He says, "John Erskin of Dun, a man of meik and gentill spirit, stude besyde, and entreited what he culd to mitigat hir anger, and gave unto hir mony pleising words of her bewty, of hir excellency, and how that all the princes of Europe wuld be glad to seik her favour.—

After the dissolution of parliament, the queen went to the west of Scotland, to Atholl and Argyll-shire, to spend the summer in hunting*. Murray and his two brothers visited the north to suppress disorders, particularly to extirpate or to punish the banditti, by whom that part of the kingdom was infested; and amongst other delinquents they sentenced to the flames two unhappy, and probably deranged women, who had been accused of witchcraft †. 1563.

The general assembly met at Perth about the end of June. Many regulations were made for more effectually and extensively conveying to the people the advantages of religious instruction. Temporary superintendents were associated with the permanent ones, that churches might be more rapidly planted; resolutions respecting the act of the late parliament relating to churches were formed, and the mode of appeal from the sentences of inferior church judicatories was pointed out. I have adverted, however, to this assembly, chiefly on account of one law, which shews the difficulty of preserving consistency, and how readily the most violent supporters of liberty may, from the influence of June 30th. General Assembly.

But all that was to cast oyle in the flamming fire.—The said Jhone Knox stude still without ony alteratioun of countenance for a long season."

* Knox mentions that she went to the west country, Randolph that she was preparing to go to Argyll, Spottiswoode that she visited both Atholl and Argyll.

† Knox, p. 335. See some very striking passages respecting witchcraft, in Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 194, 195, shewing that belief in it was common at the time at which he wrote, even amongst judicious and intelligent men.

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prejudice, do what is directly calculated to injure the cause to which they are devoted. In the third session, it was ordained, that no work upon religion or doctrine, should be in any way published, without the approbation of the superintendent of the diocese, or of those whom he might appoint. This seemed to the preachers the most effectual mode of preserving the people from the contamination of heresy; but they did not recollect that the church of Rome had previously employed the same instrument; that in recurring to the use of it they shewed themselves to be influenced by that illiberality which gave rise to the index expurgatorius, and to many of the other detestable practices by which spiritual despotism degraded and enslaved the understandings of mankind.

1563. June 27th.

The general assemblies met twice in the year, but as the ecclesiastical system may be considered as now fixed, it will be unnecessary minutely to detail their proceedings except when these proceedings were designed either to resist any attempt against the church, or to introduce some innovation in the mode by which it was governed.

August. Popular outrages.

Towards the end of summer, the antipathy of the populace to every trace of the popish religion, again

* Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 33, 33. Keith, B. iii. ch. iii. p. 324, from Register. A similar inconsistency in the Presbyterians at a later period, drew from the pen of Milton an admirable defence of the liberty of the press. See Symmons' Life of Milton, a work certainly more violent on one side of politics, than that of Johnson on the other.

burst forth in acts of violence and outrage. During the absence of the queen, those of her household who remained at the palace, regularly celebrated mass; and either from curiosity or from a secret attachment to the ancient faith, a considerable number of the inhabitants of Edinburgh attended the chapel. The zealous protestants were shocked at this undisguised solemnization of idolatrous rites, which the indulgence granted to the queen did not appear to them to warrant, and they resolved that it should be discontinued. Several of them, upon a Sunday, went to Holyroodhouse, under pretence of ascertaining who countenanced the mass; and having been denied admission, they burst into the chapel. Their tumultuous behaviour alarmed the congregation. Some fled to the offices of the household to implore protection, while the priest with much difficulty made his escape.

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The queen heard of this attack upon her palace with the strongest feelings of indignation, and although, through the mediation of Murray and Glencairn, her anger was appeased, Cranston and Armstrong, two of the ringleaders, were apprehended, and were appointed to stand trial for their seditious and traitorous conduct *.

Ringleaders apprehended.

Knox, who highly approved the attempt of the

* Knox, B. iv. p. 335, 336. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 188. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 177. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 492. Abstract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 21st Dec. in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 272.

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1563. Knox exerts himself in their favour. His letter. Oct. 8th.

people, resolved, with the consent of the ministers, whom he almost entirely directed, to rescue these two men, or to save them from the severity of punishment; and having received a commission from the church to call assemblies of the faithful upon any emergency, he considered himself as thus authorized to write a circular letter, addressed to the brethren of the Congregation. In this letter he represented Cranston and Armstrong as suffering for the cause of religion, insinuated that what was done against them was intended as a prelude to more extensive and cruel persecution, and exhorted all who valued the pure doctrine of the gospel not to forsake them, but to support them by their presence and assistance on the day of trial. "It may be, perchance," he adds, "that persuasions will be made to the contrary; that you may be informed either that your assembly is not necessary, or that it will offend the higher powers; but my good hope is, that neither flattery nor fear shall make you so far decline from Christ Jesus, as that, against your public promise and solemn bond, you will leave your brethren in so just a cause*."

The plain object of this letter was to intimidate the court before which the rioters were to appear, or to set it at defiance. A measure so bold, so in-

* Knox has inserted the letter at full length in his History, B. iv. p. 336, 337, and a copy of it is also in the Cotton Library, from which it was transcribed by Crawford into Vol. I. of his Collection, p. 278, 279. The copy in the Cotton Library is dated the 9th, that in the History the 8th of October.

consistent with the stability of government, and the impartial administration of justice, offended all the faithful servants of the queen. Murray and Lethington remonstrated with Knox upon the impropriety of his conduct, and advised him, by submission, to ward off the danger to which they were convinced that he was exposed. The Master of Maxwell, one of his most steady friends, declared that he would renounce his friendship if he did not submit to the queen; warning him that he must not expect that men would bear with him now as they had done in time past. Notwithstanding all these admonitions he remained inflexible. He professed, as he was always desirous to do, that he had no seditious intention—that he considered it as a point of conscience, to watch over the interests of religion,—and that he would cheerfully attend the privy-council to defend what he had done. The queen was present when he appeared. He conducted his defence with great ingenuity; and notwithstanding the earnest wish of Mary, that he should be condemned, notwithstanding the previous impression on many of the leading men in the council, that he could not escape, he convinced them that no action at law lay against him, and he was unanimously acquitted. The bishop of Ross, a zealous catholic, voted for the acquittal; and when the queen spoke to him about his vote, he said, "Your grace may consider that it is neither affection to the man, nor love to the profession that moved me to absolve him, but the

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Murray and Lethington expostulate with him.

Summoned before the council.

Acquitted.

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simple truth which plainly appears in his defence *."

1563. Knox, however, was not satisfied with this verdict of the council. He complained in the general assembly, that he had been held forth as assuming a degree of power inconsistent with the principles which he had avowed, and he appealed to the members, whether he had not received authority to assemble the professors, when any of their brethren were exposed to danger. They readily admitted that this confidence had been reposed in him, and he thus appeared to have acted from a sense of duty, not from inordinate ambition, of which by many he had been accused †.

Courtiers dissatisfied with the Ministers.

The courtiers, although they had not thought it just or expedient to punish Knox, were highly dissatisfied with the whole conduct of the ministers; and when new demands for the regular payment of their stipends were presented, some intimations were thrown out, that as they acted so much in opposition to the wishes of the queen, they should be left to themselves, and to the provision which the people whom they taught might assign to them. This was probably intended to alarm them, but it led to some violent discussions, and as it was not

* Knox, B. iv. p. 339—342. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 188. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 177, 178. This last writer represents the sentence of the council as occasioned by their being overawed by the multitude, but this evidently was not the case.

† Knox, B. iv. p. 344, 345, Keith, from the Register, in B. iii. ch. iii. p. 527, 528.

the design of the protestant lords to separate themselves from the ministers, the usual answers were at length given*. The foundation, however, of much dissension between the lords and the preachers was now laid; and it is not improbable that this would have led to measures highly prejudicial to the influence or even to the security of the protestant establishment, had not events soon occurred, which again cordially united them in opposition to the sovereign; events which, while they proved fatal to the power and to the happiness of the unfortunate Mary, strengthened the bulwarks of the reformation, and at length firmly placed it upon the ruins of the popish hierarchy in Scotland.

Danger of a rupture between them.

* Knox, B. iv. p. 344. Keith, B. iii. ch. iii. p. 527, from Calderwood's large History.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THIRD.

Attention directed to the marriage of Mary....Views of the family of Guise....Of Elizabeth....Advice of that Queen....Her insincere proposal of a husband to Mary ....Return of the Earl of Lennox to Scotland....Conference at Berwick respecting the marriage....Scotish Commissioners incline to a marriage with Darnly, the son of Lennox....Their reasons....This intended match intimated to Elizabeth....She allows Darnly to visit Scotland....Queen becomes attached to him....Alarm of the Protestants....Mary endeavours to dissipate this alarm....Change in the sentiments of Murray with regard to the marriage....His violent resolution....His anxiety to ascertain the intentions of Elizabeth....Resolution of the English Council....Embassy of Throkmorton....His conference with Mary....His negotiation with her Council....Attempts of Mary to reconcile Elizabeth to the marriage....To prevent the schemes of her enemies....She converses with the Superintendents....The Protestant lords retire from Court....Their views.... Trust to their influence in the General Assembly....Articles which the Assembly resolve to present to the Queen....Exhibit Murray in an unfavourable light.

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1563. Attention directed to the marriage of Mary.

THE beauty and accomplishments of the queen of Scotland were justly celebrated throughout Europe, while her possession of a kingdom, which might be rendered instrumental in effectuating the schemes

of surrounding potentates, and her right of succession to the English throne, conspired with her personal graces in attracting the admiration of numberless suitors *. 1563.

It could not be imagined that this amiable princess, now in the bloom of youth, would continue to decline a matrimonial alliance; and her choice of a husband was contemplated with much anxiety, not only by her own subjects, but by the house of Guise and the queen of England. The cardinal of Lorrain had not relinquished the views by which he had been long directed. He was solicitous that his niece, instead of submitting to the guidance of Elizabeth, should choose a prince, whose power, combined with her own, would enable her to assert her pretensions to the crown of England, to disturb the tranquillity of that country, or even to wrest the sceptre from the hands of the reigning sovereign. Various proposals of a continental match were at different times made, and they were enforced by considerations which might have produced a deep impression upon her mind, had not the neglect which she had experienced from the queen-mother of France,—her indignation at being deprived of her jointure, which, after the death of the duke of Guise, had been ungenerously and unwisely withheld,—her dread of forfeiting, by a rash measure, her prospects of succession,—and her earnest desire to gratify her own people, determined

Views of the family of Guise.

* Memoires de Castelnau, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 160.

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her to yield in a great degree to the counsels of Elizabeth *.

1563. Of Elizabeth.

That able princess saw, with her usual penetration, the importance of availing herself of this confidence; and Mary had no sooner informed her that the cardinal of Lorrain had recommended a younger brother of the house of Austria, than she determined to explain her sentiments, and to put in practice every method calculated to secure the accomplishment of her own purposes respecting the marriage of the Scotish queen. She again dispatched to Scotland Sir Thomas Randolph, who had a little before returned from that kingdom, with instructions to express her gratitude for the confidence which Mary had reposed in her, and to declare how much and how tenderly she was interested in her happiness. He was enjoined, after mentioning in general terms those principles which, in the estimation of his sovereign, should regulate the decision of her good sister, explicitly to state that Elizabeth considered the proposal of the cardinal as tending to interrupt the friendship which happily subsisted between them,—to endanger the peace of the two British nations, and to throw the most formidable obstacles in the way of the queen of Scotland's succession. "If she shall press upon

Aug. 20th.

Advice of that queen.

* Castelnau's Memoires, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 461. Mackenzie's life of Mary in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 268. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 178. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 32. Camden's Annals, p. 84.

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1568. Her prime-ro proposal of a husband to Mary.

you," Elizabeth writes to Randolph, "what kind of marriage you think might best content us and our realm, you may well say, that it must be such as may not be apparent to us or our people, that it is only sought to procure trouble to this realm, as she saw was done in the time of her marriage to the French king; and therefore you may say you can but wish that there might be found some noble person of good birth within this our realm, that might be agreeable to her; or if that shall not be, yet of some other country, being one whom neither we nor our realm should have manifest cause to judge to be sought for the trouble of this realm." To induce Mary to comply with this wish, there was added, "we are well content if our sister will, in her marriage, have regard to these things, and content us and this our nation in her marriage, upon assured knowledge thereof, to proceed to the inquisition of her right and title to be our next cousin and heir, and to further that which shall appear advantageous to her, and to hinder and impeach that which shall appear to the contrary *."

But although the great object of Elizabeth's policy was to prevent the union of Mary with any of the continental sovereigns, and although, to secure this, she made the ample promises which Ran-

* Instructions of Elizabeth to Randolph, copied from the Cotton Library by Crawford, and inserted in his Collection, Vol. I. p. 254. They are all written in Cecil's own hand, and are signed and countersigned by Elizabeth herself. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 40, 41. Camden's Annals, p. 76.

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1563. dolph conveyed, yet she was secretly desirous, either that the Scotish queen should not marry at all, or that she should make such a choice as would afford a pretence for breaking these promises, which Elizabeth had no intention to fulfil, and for embroiling by new troubles the kingdom of Scotland. Accordingly, when the discussion about the marriage was renewed, she departed from the general permission which she had at first given, and commanded her minister to propose Lord Robert Dudley, whom she afterwards created Earl of Leicester *. To this nobleman Elizabeth herself was warmly attached. At the very time when she offered him to Mary, she entertained for him the strongest affection; she esteemed him as her brother and her best friend, whom she would herself have married, had she ever intended to choose a husband †. This circumstance is sufficient to warrant

March, 1564.

* Although Elizabeth, even when she gave her first general instructions to Randolph, entrusted him with a secret commission to Murray and Lethington to propose Lord Robert Dudley, (Melvil's Memoirs, p. 41) yet it is evident, from the abstract of the correspondence between Randolph and Cecil copied in Crawford, and published by Keith, B. ii. ch. vi. that this nobleman was not mentioned to Mary till March 1564.

† Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 47. Camden, in his Annals, p. 85. mentions it as the opinion of the cardinal of Lorrain, that Elizabeth intended to marry Leicester; and that she was much attached to him cannot be doubted. See Fragmenta Regalia, published lately, along with Memoirs of Sir Robert Cary, a book which throws considerable light upon the character of Elizabeth, and strengthens the opinion of her insincerity in proposing Leicester to Mary. Keith, B. ii. ch. vi. p. 245, note. Castelnau, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 466.

no slight suspicion of her sincerity. It was accordingly believed, that it would have filled her with extreme sorrow had Mary agreed to the match; that if she had done so, Elizabeth would have dismissed all the scruples which had before influenced her, and would have immediately honoured him with her own hand *.

She had, however, upon mature reflection, concluded that there was little danger of her being induced to act so decided a part. She was convinced that the high spirit of Mary would spurn at a match so infinitely beneath her own rank and her former illustrious alliance; and this opinion was well founded. The queen of Scotland, although she respected Dudley, was resolved not to marry him; and by signifying this resolution in the most positive manner, she not only dissipated the apprehensions of Elizabeth, but confirmed her in the hypocritical policy which, with respect to her dreaded successor, she delighted at all times to pursue.

Return of the Earl of Lennox to Scotland, Sept.

While the mind of Mary was distracted by numerous solicitations, she recalled to Scotland the Earl of Lennox, who for twenty years had been exiled from his country; and Elizabeth, who, notwith-

* Camden's Annals, p. 94. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 49 and 58, may be consulted to ascertain Elizabeth's love of Leicester, and her jealousy of Mary. Randolph's letter to Elizabeth, dated 7th Nov. See that letter in Appendix, No. XIII. I. is a very curious production, and it is amusing to observe the kind of flattery which the minister offered to his sovereign.

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1564. standing her subsequent conduct, was really desirous that the Scotish queen should fix her affections upon Darnly, the son of this nobleman, not only permitted him to accept of his sovereign's invitation, but interceded with her to restore to him his estates and his honours *. With this she most readily complied, and in a parliament, which she summoned chiefly

Dec. 15th. for that purpose, she declared her reasons for restoring Lennox, adding, that she the rather yielded to them because it was at the request of her sister in England †.

* Keith has preserved a letter of Mary to Elizabeth upon this subject, in which she represents her kindness to Lennox as a compliance with the requests of the English queen, B. ii. ch. v. p. 255. Knox, B. v. p. 367. Camden's Annals, p. 92. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 339. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 188. The two last writers erroneously mention that Lennox returned in 1563. Notwithstanding the decisive evidence to which I have referred, in proof that Elizabeth was gratified by the recal of Lennox, she, with her usual duplicity, affected to be highly displeased. Randolph, in his correspondence with Cecil, an abstract of which is in Crawford's Collection and in Keith, expressly affirms this. On the 9th of June, it is noted the queen of England writeth to the queen of Scots to stay the coming of Lennox into Scotland; and in October he informs Cecil that he had mentioned the unkindness that the queen of England taketh in that her sister received Lennox against her liking. I shall afterwards mention the authorities for Elizabeth's real sentiments respecting the marriage with Darnly.

† Randolph's correspondence with Cecil, dated, probably by mistake, 3d of December, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 307. Buch. Lib. xvii. p. 339. Knox, B. v. p. 367. Spottiswoode, p. 188. Acts of Parliament, p. 170. It is astonishing, that almost all the writers quoted differ about the date of the parliament. The printed acts bear the 15th December, and I have marked that day on the margin.

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1564. Nov. 18th. Conference at Berwick respecting the marriage.

Not long after the return of Lennox, Murray and Lethington were appointed to meet the Earl of Bedford and Randolph at Berwick, and there to hold with them, as commissioners from Elizabeth, a conference respecting the marriage. At this conference Bedford and Randolph urged the propriety of Mary's acceding to the proposal of marrying Leicester, while Murray and Maitland, without naming any other person, represented that this match was not sufficiently splendid for their sovereign, solicited that she might have freedom of choice in England, and requested that, upon her selecting a nobleman from that country, Elizabeth would assign to her a revenue, and declare that she recognised her as her successor.

Scotish commissioners incline to the marriage with Darnly.

It is evident from the account given of this negotiation, and from other authorities, that most of the nobility in Scotland—that even Murray and Maitland were at this time rather inclined to their queen marrying Darnly, and there were strong reasons for preferring him to any other British subject *. He was nearly allied to Elizabeth; he was, after Mary, the nearest heir to the throne of England; his marriage into any powerful family, might have created obstacles in the way of the

Reasons.

* Randolph's letter to Elizabeth, dated 7th Nov. in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 294, and Keith, p. 260. Abstract of Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 3d Nov. in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 293. Buchan. Lib. xvii. p. 339. Mackenzie's life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 270.

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succession, which the queen of Scotland would have found it difficult to surmount, while the union of their claims by choosing him as her husband, secured to her or her family, if Elizabeth persisted in her resolution to lead a single life, the crown to which her hopes had been so steadily directed *.

The Scotish commissioners insisted upon the importance of a speedy determination of this interesting point; they stated that her people craved that their queen should marry, that her state required it, and that personal considerations combined with public, in producing in their minds much uneasiness and anxiety with regard to it, because envious men had spread abroad that they did not wish her to marry, lest they should thus be deprived of the sole direction of affairs †.

The English commissioners were probably not displeased that the conference terminated without any definite arrangement. They knew how averse Elizabeth was to be deprived of her favourite; and it has been alleged, that Leicester solicited the Earl of Bedford not to press the marriage, because he had hopes of overcoming Elizabeth's reluctance to the married state, and of prevailing with her to accept of him as her husband ‡.

* Buch. Lib. xvii. p. 339. Knox. B. v. p. 369. Camden's Annals, p. 93. Castelnau's Memoires, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 463. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 56.

† Bedford and Randolph's letter to Elizabeth, dated the 23d Nov. in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 300, and Keith, B. ii. ch. vii. Camden's Annals, p. 94.

‡ Camden's Annals. p. 94, 95.

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Randolph, soon after the return of Lennox, perceived that Mary had some intention of espousing Darnly. He alluded to this in the account which he sent of the conference with Murray and Lethington; and he expressly mentioned in one of his letters to Cecil, that Lennox was sanguine in his expectations that the queen of Scotland would marry his son *. The ambassador not doubting the sincerity of his sovereign, or not wishing to appear to doubt it, had considered it as his duty to communicate this information to herself, and even to express his opinion of the hazard, which would attend permitting Darnly to visit Scotland †.

1564. This match intimated to Elizabeth. Dec. 3d.

Yet notwithstanding these warnings, sufficient surely to have alarmed the prudence and discernment of Elizabeth, had she really felt that abhorrence at the marriage with Darnly which she so soon avowed, she consented to allow this young nobleman to go to his father; thus voluntarily affording to Mary an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with him, and of carrying her designs in his favour into execution ‡.

She allows him to visit Scotland.

This permission to Darnly to repair to Scotland cannot be imputed to inadvertence. It is plain that Elizabeth had some end to accomplish, and there is little difficulty in ascertaining what that end

* Crawford, Vol. I. p. 307, and Keith, B. ii. ch. vii. p. 268.

† Randolph's letter to Elizabeth, dated the 7th Nov. in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 294.

‡ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 53. Camden's Annals, p. 95.

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really was. When she consented to Darnly's journey, she was probably convinced that his marriage with Mary would be the consequence, and she wished it to take place, because she would thus not be exposed for recommending Leicester, whose society she would not have relinquished, while she would be furnished with a plausible pretence for blaming Mary's conduct, and for not only declining to enter upon the unpleasant topic of the succession, but for even stirring up such dissensions amongst the Scottish nobles, as would, by embarrassing the administration of their sovereign, leave her little leisure for forming a party in England, or for claiming the fulfilment of the general promises which had been made to her. This account exhibits, in the blackest colours, the hypocrisy and depravity of the English queen; but a careful examination of all the documents which have been preserved upon the subject, taken in conjunction with her subsequent conduct, leaves little room for hesitating about its being founded in truth *. While

* Sir James Melvil was personally engaged in the negotiations which took place about the marriage; he was frequently at the English court, had several interviews with Elizabeth, and had access to know the sentiments which were entertained by herself, and her most confidential servants. Much reliance may therefore be placed upon his authority. He says, p. 42 of his Memoirs, "Now his eldest son, that is the eldest son of Lennox, was a lusty young prince, and apparently was one of the two that the queen of England had told me she had in her head to offer unto our queen." Still more decisively he mentions, p. 53, "The queen of England begins to suspect that the said marriage, viz. of Mary and Leicester, might take

Mary gave the most cordial reception to Lennox, and bestowed on him a large share of her favour— while she was anxiously meditating upon the expediency of uniting herself with Darnly, she shewed no propensity to alter the line of conduct which she had followed, respecting the religion of her subjects. She was even desirous to convince them that her gracious intentions were confirmed; for in the parliament in which the forfeiture of Lennox

1564.

effect. Her apprehensions of this, occasioned the Lord Darnly, his getting more readily license to come to Scotland, in hope that he, being a handsome lusty youth, should rather prevail being present, than Leicester who was absent." Castelnau was frequently dispatched upon embassies relating to the marriages of the British queens. Speaking upon the subject of Darnly's marriage, he says, "Mais je trouvai La Reine D'Angleterre plus froid envers la Reine D'Escosse qu' auparavant, comme se plaignant d'elle, de lui avoir soustrait un sien parent et sujet, et de le vouloir epouser contre son grè. Discours bien eloigné de son cœur, come j'ai dit cy devant, car elle faisoit tous ses efforts, et n'epargnoit rien pour avancer le marriage." Jebb, Vol. II. p. 466, 467. Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, after his arrival in Scotland, found that some persons who had come from the English court, had mentioned how much Elizabeth was gratified with the marriage which he was sent to oppose, and he earnestly requested that more caution might be used. "I should be sorry if Demoniser (who comes to Scotland) should be able to give this queen intelligence that her proceedings with Lord Darnly are not so ill taken there by her and her council, as I pretended in all my negotiations. I say the same of Gordon, Lidington's servant, and of one Menzies, and so of all others who may give the same intelligence to the Scotish queen." The countess of Lennox, notwithstanding her rigorous confinement, found means to convey intelligence to Mary of the duplicity of Elizabeth in her opposition to the marriage, and Mary herself was fully impressed with the unfairness of her good sister. Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. See also Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 339, 340, and Knox, B. v. p. 369. Stowe's Annals, p. 658.

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1564. was rescinded, she sanctioned an act, by which hearing mass, except in her own chapel, was punished by confiscation of goods and lands, and even by death *. Her confidence in her brother was, for some time after the arrival of Lennox, as great as before, for Randolph wrote to Cecil

Dec. 2d. even in December, that Mary had offered to be directed in her marriage by Murray †.

1565. Feb. Queen becomes attached to him. Darnly arrived in Scotland in the month of February, and was immediately presented to the queen ‡. Prepossessed as she was in his favour, his genteel appearance, his insinuating manners, his apparent mildness of disposition, made at once a deep impression upon her mind; and, fascinated by these superficial accomplishments, she yielded to the influence of love, before she calmly estimated his character, or made any effort to discover

* Randolph mentions this expressly to Cecil in his letter of the 3d Dec. and as he was in Edinburgh, and was much interested in what respected the protestant religion, there can be little doubt that his information was correct. The act however is not inserted among the printed acts of this parliament, but its existence is in some degree confirmed by what Knox has said with regard to it. He mentions that there were some articles given in by the kirk, especially for the abolishing of mass universally, and the punishment of vice, but that there was little granted. This implies that something was granted, and he calls it little, probably because there was an exception in the act in favour of the queen's celebrating mass in her own chapel, B. v. p. 368.

† Randolph's correspondence in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 307.

‡ Buchanan, p. 339. Knox, p. 368. Spottiswoode, p. 188. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 322. These historians differ as to the day of his arrival.

the failings which he had not prudence long to conceal *.

1565.

Darnly soon perceived that he had captivated Mary. He was at all times admitted and welcomed to court; he was loaded with every mark of the most particular attention; and before he had been long in the kingdom, it had become obvious to all who had access to the society of the sovereign, that her resolution was fixed; that no opposition would thwart her inclinations †. She in fact, before the conclusion of the month of March, dispatched Lethington to Elizabeth to intimate to that princess her intention, and to endeavour to procure her consent and approbation ‡.

Alarm of the protestants.

The attachment of Darnly to the catholic religion was soon surmised in Scotland §. This no doubt

* Buchanan. p. 339. Camden's Annals, p. 95. In a manuscript, entitled the History and Life of King James the Sixth, with the use of which I have been most obligingly furnished by James Wedderburn, Esq. Advocate, there is the following description of Darnly: "He was a comely prince, of a fair and large stature of body, pleasant in countenance, loving and affable to all men—well exercised in martial pastimes on horseback, as any prince of that age." With these accomplishments, and the predilection which Mary had for an union with the son of Lennox, we cannot wonder that, at her period of life, she listened more to the delusive promises of passion, than to the stern dictates of cautious wisdom. For some particulars respecting the manuscript here mentioned, see a subsequent note.

† Buchanan and Camden as last quoted. Spottiswoode's History, p. 188.

‡ Keith, Appendix to B. ii. of his History, No. V. from the shattered MS.

§ MS. History of James VI. "He was devote, after the catholic manner."

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excited much regret in the most zealous protestants; but it was not from any apprehension occasioned by this circumstance, that, at the approach of Easter, they shewed peculiar anxiety to secure their religion, and, with unrelenting rigour to carry into execution the law against their opponents. That season they had uniformly contemplated with alarm. The reverence in which it was held by the adherents of popery, had led them, ever since the arrival of the queen, indeed ever since they ceased to enjoy the protection of government, to break through the caution which they usually observed, and to testify, by open acts of worship, their devout recollection of a period consecrated to the sufferings and the death of their Redeemer. The protestants suspected, and perhaps had reason to suspect, that the catholics would set at defiance the new act interdicting their religious rites; and forgetting how little the most vigorous efforts of civil power can restrain men who are really guided by conscience, or influenced by devotion; forgetting how ineffectually, during their own depression, the authority of the regent had been employed to prevent them from professing their sentiments, they circulated letters through different parts of the kingdom, stimulating their brethren to watch over the purity of religion with undecaying vigilance. By the advice of the leading men in Edinburgh, the superintendent of Lothian also presented a supplication to the queen, in which it was stated, that the papists in their obstinacy, pretended nothing

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less than that at the subsequent Easter they would erect their idolatry and superstition, and praying that she would guard against what would be so revolting to the brethren and the professors of the gospel. 1565.

Mary had become accustomed to this language, and was less irritated by it than she had at first been. She graciously replied to it by her secretary, that such provision would be made as would content the superintendent and his friends; and she immediately wrote to every place which was suspected, particularly addressing herself to the archbishop of St Andrews, and the bishop of Aberdeen, commanding them not to celebrate mass, and to refrain from doing any thing which could offend the protestants*. Mary endeavours to remove it.

That this conduct of the reformers had no connection with the queen's marriage, or with the dissatisfaction of the Earl of Murray, occasioned by that marriage, may be inferred from the time at which it took place, and from there being no allusion to these circumstances; for the boldness of the catholics was solely attributed to the slothfulness and want of godly zeal of the professors.

The sentiments of this popular nobleman with regard to the queen's choice of a husband, could not fail to weigh with many of the most considerable men in Scotland. Mary was fully sensible of Change of Murray's sentiments about the marriage.

* Knox, B. v. p. 369, 370, compared with Keith, B. iii. ch. iv. p. 529.

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this, and she was naturally desirous, in the most important step of her life, that she should be supported by his approbation. He had with much attention considered the interests of his sovereign, and he had formed a decided opinion upon the kind of marriage, which in all points of view would be most advantageous. He was averse to an alliance with a foreign prince, and his representations had powerfully contributed to the resolution which upon this point the queen had adopted. He had highly approved the recal of Lennox, had probably suggested that measure, and after the arrival of this nobleman, had shewn no dislike to Lord Darnly's being selected as the husband of Mary *.

When Darnly came to Scotland, Murray did not change his views. He was disposed to promote the match; and Lennox and his son, by proper attention to him—attention which, from every motive they should have most cordially paid, might have enjoyed his co-operation, and thus united all classes of the community. Unfortunately for the country and for the queen, they followed a very opposite policy. Afraid of her brother's power, they considered him as the obstacle to that complete ascendancy over the queen, which they were eager to acquire. While Lennox used every method of ingratiating himself with the sovereign, he associated little with Murray, did not even pay to him that respect which he shewed to the rest of the no-

* Buchanan, Lib xvii. p. 341.

bility; and Darnly, when one day surveying a map upon which the estates of the prior were delineated, had the rashness to observe that he thought them too extensive*. Murray was alarmed and offended by this unguarded remark; and although the queen, who was struck with its impropriety, commanded Darnly to make an apology to her brother, it could not be forgotten; it probably completely alienated him from the house of Lennox, and laid the foundation of the opposition which he so soon made to its exaltation. 1565.

That the queen, in the ardour and enthusiasm of love, should listen more to the object of it than to the rigid counsels of Murray, was what even he could not have condemned, and would, if Darnly had acted wisely, have excited little jealousy. But he saw his influence becoming daily less from the ascendancy of a man whom he at first beheld with contempt, and whom he ere long viewed with scornful detestation.

Rizzio, an Italian musician, had come to Scotland in the train of an ambassador from the Duke of Savoy; and having been accidentally employed to sing at court, he so recommended himself, that the queen appointed him to act as her French secretary†. The opinions of historians are divided

* Abstract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 24th Oct. 1564, and a very interesting letter of the same minister to Cecil, 20th March 1565, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 309, and Keith, B. ii. ch. viii.

† Sir James Melvil has given in his Memoirs a very full and just

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with regard to his talents, his character, and his designs; but about this there is no doubt, that he ingratiated himself with Mary, and soon obtained a power of directing her resolutions, which often thwarted the schemes of Murray, and which was viewed with much indignation by Maitland*.

The countenance which she imprudently gave to this obscure foreigner could not fail to irritate the nobility; and his own presumption, the insolence with which he conducted himself, the open part which he took in the affairs of government, rendered him more odious than he would otherwise have been†. To be supplanted by such a man, was an indignity which the haughty spirit of the Earl of Murray could not bear; and the confidence which Darnly reposed in Rizzio, the zeal with which this man promoted the marriage, completed the disgust with which Murray had begun to contemplate a union, from which he had once expected that the happiest consequences would result to Scotland. His dissatisfaction was increased by the conduct of the queen to the Earl of Bothwell. This profligate nobleman, who had been accused of

account of Rizzio, with whom he was acquainted, p. 54. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 340. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p 139. Keith, p. 268, note. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 69. Rizzio began to act as secretary in November or December, as is mentioned by Randolph in a letter to Cecil, dated 3d Dec.

* See several of the writers collected by Jebb in his two volumes, containing works relating to the Life of Mary.

† Letter of Randolph to Cecil 3d June, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 329.

having formed a plot against the life of Murray, and who, in consequence of the accusation, had taken refuge in foreign countries, returned about this time to Scotland; and although the queen expressed much displeasure at his arrival, and readily, at the request of Murray, appointed a day for his trial, yet when conscious of his guilt, or intimidated by the power of his opponent, he failed to appear, and again fled, she refused to confiscate his property, and to declare him an outlaw and a traitor*.

1565. March.

All these causes of discontent operating upon the mind of Murray, he formed the desperate resolution, not only of opposing the queen's marriage with Darnly, but of having recourse to arms if his opposition should be unsuccessful, or if the terms which he dictated as the conditions of his acquiescence should be rejected. This conduct cannot be defended. If a faithful counsellor disapprove the measures of his sovereign he should plainly state his disapprobation, and the reasons upon which it is founded, doing whatever can be done consistently with loyal submission to counteract their tendency. But if the private opinions of an individual are to be made the standard from which a monarch can

His violent resolution.

* Knox, B. v. p. 368 and 371, 372, compared with Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 340. Buchanan represents Mary as having taken a very active part in Bothwell's favour, as having recalled him, made every effort to prevent his trial, and when she failed in this, as having kept out of the way those who were most against him. This does not appear from the account given by Knox, and it is so unlikely, that it would require for its confirmation the strongest evidence.

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never deviate, or if rebellion is to be excited when those who had been in power are excluded from it, there is an end of all steady and secure government: a country in such a situation will have its prosperity more effectually counteracted than if its inhabitants groaned under the galling yoke of oppression.

In yielding to his passions, Murray displayed a weakness of political discernment not consistent with the usual vigour of his mind. He might have perceived that, if he merely kept at a distance, there could be no permanent opposition to the scheme of policy which he recommended; that the evils which would instantly be occasioned by departing from it, would lay the queen under the necessity of again soliciting his assistance, of restoring to him the place which he had been accustomed to hold. At the period, however, of which I write, the infinite danger of rashly resisting government was not thoroughly understood. The nobles had for ages been accustomed to appeal to the sword; and the pernicious habits which thus were created, it required the progress of civilization, that love of order which is the natural result of increasing affluence and flourishing commerce, completely to destroy.

The accidental coincidence of the Duke of Chatelherault and the family of Hamilton in opposition to Darnly, probably encouraged Murray to proceed farther than he would otherwise have done. The duke considered the house of Lennox as the rival

or the enemy of his own; he complained to the English resident that the completion of the match would be the forerunner of his ruin; and under this impression he was prepared to join his personal influence and his great resources with any faction which should declare against the court *.

His anxiety to ascertain the intentions of Elizabeth.

But although Murray, not long after the arrival of Darnly, had begun to revolve in his mind the plan of having recourse to arms, he did not probably finally decide upon it till he knew what were the intentions of Elizabeth, what would be the result of her interference against the marriage, and whether she would make a common cause with the opponents of the Scotish government. He continued his presence at court till the month of May; he came to Stirling on the fourth of that month, was received with kindness and affection by his sister, and was at the council to which she proposed her marriage, and at which that measure was with very little opposition approved †.

April.

Lethington arrived at Westminster on the eighteenth of April. The queen summoned a council to meet on the first of May, to which she referred

* Letter of Randolph to Cecil, dated 20th March, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. and Keith, B. ii. ch. viii.

† Knox, B. v. p. 372. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 341. This writer expresses himself so ambiguously as to leave it uncertain whether Murray was present. That he really was is placed beyond a doubt by Throkmorton, who in his letter to Elizabeth, dated the 21st May, mentions, that upon being introduced he found Murray with the queen of Scotland. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 215, 216.

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1565. Resolution of the English council.

the message from Mary respecting her marriage with Darnly. The council, aware of Elizabeth's intentions, and disposed to act agreeably to them, passed resolutions hostile to the match, and advised that every method should be adopted to prevent its taking place*.

Embassy of Throkmorton.

Immediately after the council, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton was sent to Scotland, with instructions to delay and thwart the marriage. Attended by Lethington, he arrived at Edinburgh upon the thirteenth of May, and having there learnt that Mary had determined to create Darnly an Earl on the fifteenth, and duke of Albany on the succeeding day, he set out for Stirling, and on the fifteenth presented himself at the castle, when the lords of the council were with the queen. He then demanded an audience, which was necessarily refused, but in the afternoon he was invited to attend her majesty, when he at once entered upon the great avowed design of his embassy. He stated how much Elizabeth was dissatisfied with the marriage, both from the matter and the manner of it, and particularly with Lennox and Darnly, who, although they were her own subjects, had presumed to enter upon an affair of so much moment, without her permission. Mary condescended to reason with the English minister. She told him that she had com-

His conference with Mary.

* Determination of the privy-council of England upon the marriage for the queen of Scots, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 316, and Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. Camden's Annals, p. 95, 96.

municated to Elizabeth the resolution with regard to Darnly as soon as it was formed, which was all that she had ever promised to do, and as to that qu[illegible]'s not liking the match, she greatly wondered, because she had used her choice according to the prescription of her good sister; recalled to him what Randolph had mentioned on the part of Elizabeth, when she dissuaded an union with Austria, France, or Spain; and concluded by saying, that in her estimation, no choice should have been more acceptable to the queen of England than that of Darnly. This remark was probably intended as an allusion to Elizabeth's dissimulation, with which Mary was well acquainted. Throkmorton perceived that she was fully determined upon the marriage, and he therefore obeyed the other part of his instructions, which was to negotiate separately with her council, and to persuade those lords who were of the protestant communion to resist the marriage, at least till the Lord Darnly should have subscribed a bond to maintain the reformed religion *.

His negotiation with her council.

In this negotiation he was very successful; and

* Letter of Throkmorton to Elizabeth, last quoted. Knox, B. v. p. 372, 373. Knox repeats here that the marriage was not displeasing to Elizabeth. Camden's Annals, p. 96, 97. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 56. He says, "she also sent her ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, to dissuade the queen from marrying him, and in case the queen would not follow her advice, to persuade the lords, and so many as were of the protestant religion, to withstand the said marriage till Darnly should subscribe a bond to maintain the reformed religion."

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accordingly, although he had intimated that nothing but violence would prevent the marriage, he informed the queen, probably in consequence of his conference with Murray and the other discontented lords, that this violence might be successfully used, or that such terms might be imposed upon Mary, as would remove every objection to the match *.

Attempts of Mary to reconcile Elizabeth to the marriage.

But although the queen of Scotland had now decided, in a matter so intimately connected with her happiness, to follow her own inclinations, she was most unwilling to offend Elizabeth, and most anxious to procure the cordial approbation of her own subjects. She ordered Hay the commendator of Balmerino, a zealous friend of Murray, to go to the English queen, and to propose a conference for removing all grounds of dissatisfaction, the conference to be conducted on her part by certain noblemen mentioned, amongst whom Murray was included; and she summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, that every measure might be adopted which could gratify her people, and dissipate the apprehensions with which artful and turbulent men had sought to inspire them †.

July 20th.

To prevent the schemes of her enemies.

Aware that the discontented faction would endeavour to implicate their cause with that of religion, she endeavoured to prevent this by sending, on the day after Darnly had been created Earl of

* Throkmorton's letter, as last quoted.

† Throkmorton's letter in Keith, p. 279. Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. p. 283. Abstract from records of the privy-council, published by Keith, in a note to p. 279. Knox, p. 373.

Ross, for Willock, Winram, and Spottiswoode, three of the superintendents. To them she gave the most unequivocal assurances of her friendly intentions; told them that although she was convinced of the truth of her own religion, she would willingly listen to conferences upon the Scriptures; that earnestly desiring the glory of God, and to satisfy mens consciences, she would attend the public sermons if they were preached by persons who were acceptable to her; that she was particularly desirous to hear Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus, a man whom, on account of his mild and gentle disposition, she highly esteemed *. To put the sincerity of her declaration to the superintendents beyond a doubt, she requested the most powerful of the protestant nobility to meet at Perth, that final arrangements might be made respecting their religion †.

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1565. Her conversation with the superintendents.

The designs of her opponents now began to be more clearly manifested. After Throkmorton's interview with her, the Duke and the Earls of Murray, Argyll, and Glencairn, retired to their own houses, and Murray, prosecuting his scheme of appearing as the champion of the protestant faith, sent to all the principal churches, informing the ministers of the meeting at Perth, requesting them to consult together, and to send the most able men to

The protestant lords retire from court.

* Knox, B. v. p. 373. † Knox, ib.

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attend that convention*. The multitudes whom this warning would certainly have collected, might have overawed the queen, but could not contribute to that freedom of discussion, and that cordiality which she intended; she therefore adjourned the meeting till the twenty-second of June, summoning particularly to it the Duke, and the Earls of Argyll, Murray, Morton, and Glencairn †.

There was now a complete revolution in the councils of Mary. Murray had left the court, and Maitland had at this time lost the confidence of his sovereign ‡.

Their views.

The scheme of the discontented party was at length adjusted. They determined to stand forth as the defenders of the reformation, and of the alliance with England; and they hoped that these grounds of opposition to Mary's government would be as popular as, during the struggles of the Congregation, they had experienced them to be. Assured of the favourable disposition of Elizabeth, they trusted that they would, without difficulty, assemble an army which would dictate law to the queen, and restore to them the power which, through their own violence and precipitation, they saw wrested from their hands.

* Throkmorton's letter to Elizabeth, as formerly quoted. Knox, p. 373.

† Letter of Randolph to Cecil, dated 2d of July, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 330, and in Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. Knox, B. v. p. 374. He mentions the 23d of June as the day fixed for the convention.

‡ Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 329.

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That Murray was altogether insincere in the fear which at this period he affected to entertain about the security of the reformed faith, it is difficult to suppose. Although, like other men, he was swayed by motives of ambition, he was unquestionably a friend to the reformation; he had uniformly supported it, and he might imagine, that as the counsels which had led Mary to tolerate or to countenance it, had ceased to influence her, it was in danger of being again assailed by the vigorous persecution which he knew would gratify her continental relations, and would be by them strenuously urged. The Duke was certainly impelled by interested considerations. He had so often varied in his religious sentiments, that he could not imagine that the most credulous would be duped by any pretence which he might make of earnestness in support of the new doctrines, and it does not appear that such a pretence was really made by him.

Trust to their influence in the General Assembly. June 24th.

But whatever were the secret reasons dictating the conduct pursued by the associated lords, they could calculate upon the strenuous efforts of the preachers, and upon the resolutions of the General Assembly. It had been appointed to meet in June, and the Lords prepared for its sanction certain requests to the sovereign; requests so contemptuous and unreasonable, that they could not fail to be refused.—The refusal was exactly what they wished to take place. They had no doubt that this would

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easily be rendered instrumental in rekindling the violent zeal which the undisturbed profession of their faith had, in the great body of the people, naturally diminished.

The day appointed by Mary for the convention of the nobility, preceded only by two days, or, according to Knox, by one, the meeting of the Assembly; but the lords composing the hostile faction, declined attending their sovereign. Murray declared that he would have been present, had he not received intimation that a plan was formed to take away his life, and Argyll and Glencairn went to Edinburgh to regulate the proceedings of the ecclesiastical commissioners *.

Respecting the dark and execrable plots with which both parties charged their adversaries, we have not precise or authentic information. Mary uniformly denied that any thing against her brother was ever intended; she complained of the malice of those who, by such a rumour, wished to alienate them from each other, and she often requested him to come to court, that she might convince him that the reports which had been circulated were without foundation. It is not impossible, however, that although she was not acquainted with the design, there might have been some scheme of assassination devised by Darnly, or the flatterers who laboured to gain his favour.—Suspicions of such a

* Knox, B. v. p. 364. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 2d July, as above quoted. Buchan. Lib. xvii. p. 341.

scheme certainly existed, and if these were not invidiously excited by Murray himself, which is highly improbable, he was justified in taking every precaution to ensure his safety *. It is remarkable that Knox does not notice this plot against Murray, but attributes his not going to Perth to an accidental fit of sickness, the reality of which even Buchanan admits †.

On the twenty-fourth of June, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh. The Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, with a number of lords, barons, and gentlemen were present, and it was resolved, probably at the suggestion of Murray's faction, certainly with their most cordial acquiescence, that commissioners should be sent to the queen with some articles, humbly requesting that these articles might be approved and ratified by her in parliament ‡. The style of the articles is very

* Randolph's letter as above quoted. Act of Privy-Council, dated at Edinburgh 17th July, and inserted by Keith in the Appendix to B. ii. of his History, No. 9.

† Knox, B. v. p. 374, compared with Buchanan, p. 341. Buchanan says, "tandem per Patricium Ruvenum iterum admonitus ex itinere ad matrem in propinquas ejus ad Lacum Levinum ædes divertit, ac alvo forte soluta, ea morbi excusatione usus, ibi substitit."

‡ Keith, who does not willingly lose an opportunity of pointing out the inaccuracy of Knox as to dates, mentions what is the fact, that the reformer represents this assembly as not held till the 24th of July. In this instance, however, there seems to be merely an error of the transcriber or of the press, for in the preceding sentence, speaking of the 23d of June, he says, "which day was even the day before that the general assembly should have been held in Edinburgh." He adds, "that Murray remained at Lochleven till the

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different from what the assembly had ever before used. It had often bewailed the queen's attachment to popery, and very plainly hinted its earnest desire that she would abandon it; but the members had never sought directly to infringe the original agreement upon this subject, far less to ask that her claim to the free exercise of her religion should meet with parliamentary condemnation. The articles exhibit very forcibly the views of Murray and his party, for they had an immediate tendency to hold up Mary to the detestation of her subjects; while, at the same time, they constitute a most interesting document, enabling those who attend to them to ascertain the spirit prevailing at the period when they were composed. They were as follows:

1565. Articles to be presented to the queen.

"1st, That the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistical idolatry and papal jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout this realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's own person, with punishment against all persons who should be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same, and that the sincere word of God and Christ's true religion, now pre-

queen came forth of St Johnstone to Edinburgh, where the assembly was held on the 24th of July." Now that he did not mean that the assembly was not held till the queen came to Edinburgh is evident, for he tells us, a little after, that the commissioners went from Edinburgh to St Johnston to present their articles. There can be little doubt, then, either that Knox did not write the 24th of July, or if he did, that it was inadvertently, for the whole account fixes down the assembly to June, and Calderwood, who generally follows him, assigns to it this date.

sently received, might be established, approved, and ratified throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's own person as in the subjects; and that the people be astricted to resort upon the Sundays at the least to the prayers, and preaching of God's word, lykeas they were astricted before to resort to the idolatrous mass; and these heads to be provided by act of parliament, and ratified by the queen's majesty. 2d, That provision be made for sustentation of the ministry, as well for the time present as the time to come; and that such persons as are presently admitted to the ministry, may have their livings assigned to them in places where they travel in their calling, or at least next adjacent thereto; and that the benefices now vacant, or which have become vacant since the month of March fifteen hundred and fifty-eight, or that shall hereafter happen to be vacant, be disposed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's word, and discharge the vocation concerning the ministry, by trial and admission of the superintendents and overseers; and that no benefice or living, having many kirks annexed thereunto, be disposed altogether in any time to come to any man, but at least the kirks thereof be severally disposed, and that to several persons, so that every man having charge, may serve at his own kirk according to his vocation; and to that effect likewise, that the glebes and manses be given to the ministers, that they may make residence at their

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kirks, whereby they may discharge their consciences according to their vocation; and also that the kirks may be repaired accordingly, and that a law be made and established hereupon by act of parliament as said is. 3d, That none be permitted to have charge of schools, colleges or universities, neither privately nor publickly to instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried by the superintendents or visitors of the churches, and found sound and able in doctrine, and be admitted by them to their charges. 4th, For sustentation of the poor, that all teinds founded for hospitality of old, be restored again to the same use, and that all lands, annualrents, and other emoluments pertaining anyways to the friars, of whatsoever order they had been of, as likewise the annuities, alterages, obits, and the other duties pertaining to priests, to be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and to the uphold of schools in towns and other places where they be. 5th, That such horrible crimes as now abound within this realm, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his word, such as idolatry, blasphemy of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, manifest whoredom, maintenance of bordels, murder, slaughter, oppression, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished, and judges appointed in every province and diocese for execution thereof, with power to do the same, and that

by act of parliament. Lastly, That some order be devised and established for ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of the tythes set over their heads, without their own consent and advice *."

Place the conduct of Murray in an unfavourable light.

It was impossible that Murray, who must have seen these articles, could imagine that the queen would consent to ratify them,—that she would, in fact, pronounce her own condemnation. He knew how zealously she was attached to her religion; he had uniformly struggled to keep inviolated her own chapel; he had declared, even at the first triumph of the Congregation, that this was reasonable, that no reasonable man could oppose it. His intention, therefore, in countenancing the article against the mass, must have been to ensnare Mary—to compel her to refuse what she could not grant without wounding her conscience, and then to hold up this refusal as decided evidence of her enmity to the truth—of the purity and holiness of the motives by which he was actuated. Nothing connected with his discontent, and with the rebellion which he so soon commenced, reflects such disgrace upon his character, as this measure, by which

* Knox, B. v. p. 374, 375. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 190, 191. Keith, from Register, in B. iii. ch. iv. p. 541, 542. Crawford's Collection, from the Cotton Library, Vol. I. p. 195, 196. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 182. There are some verbal differences in the articles, as recorded by these different writers, but the substance is exactly the same in them all.

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he confidently expected, not only to strengthen his cause, but to ensure its ultimate success.

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Eager as the preachers had always shewn themselves to be for the extirpation of what they denounced as idolatry, the disaffected lords did not trust solely to the zeal, the efficacy of which they had often experienced. They combined with the condemnation of mass, propositions in the highest degree gratifying to the ministers, having for their object to acquire for them those reasonable emoluments, so requisite for the proper and undistracted discharge of their sacred duties, the want of which had occasioned much distress—had been repeatedly the subject of the loudest complaints, but which the very persons, who now affected to view it with the most indignant commiseration, had, when in power, shewn no alacrity, no disposition to remove. That even the lowest classes of the community might be interested in the success of the faction adverse to government, the utmost concern was shewn for the poor, and for those husbandmen who were lamenting the oppression resulting from the rigid exaction of tythes. The whole paper is drawn with much art and with much ability; and that part of it which, certainly originating with the ministers, relates to the discharge of the pastoral office, to the necessity of residence, and to the proper distribution of churches, reflects the highest credit upon those by whom it was composed—shews that they had profoundly meditated upon the great

work in which they were engaged, and had formed accurate conceptions of what was essential for constituting an useful, respectable, and efficient order of religious instructors *. CHAP. XXIII. 1565.

* At this assembly, session 4th, it was decided that no excuse could be sustained for non-residence. Buik of the universall Kirk, p. 46. See account of this book in a subsequent note.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOURTH.

Communications from the Queen of England to the discontented Lords....Conduct of Mary....Violence of the Protestants in Edinburgh....Mildness of the Queen.... The Lords seek the assistance of Elizabeth....Her conduct censured....Intrepidity and prudence of Mary.... She defeats the designs of the faction....Loyalty of the people....Queen's marriage with Darnly....She rashly gives him the title of King....The Lords flee to England....Their reception in that Kingdom....Mary acts with moderation....Sermon of Knox...Queen's answer to the Articles of the Assembly....Her delicate situation.

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DEXTEROUSLY as the articles sanctioned by the assembly had been framed to gratify the different classes of the community, and to give popularity to the party which proposed them, there is every reason to suspect that many, at least of the nobility, would have hesitated about importuning the queen for their ratification, had they not been assured that they were acting agreeably to the wishes of Elizabeth. They received, indeed, this interesting information at the very time of their meeting. In a letter written by Randolph to Cecil, he gives this account of the assembly, and of the part in relation to it which he himself took: "As to the

1565. Communications of the queen of England.

July 2d.

convention at Edinburgh, this assembly never was greater of protestants, never more constant or more earnest. About the beginning thereof, I received the queen's majesty's letters, and finding in the same very comfortable matters, to the great advancement of God's glory, and continuance of amity between the two realms, I thought no time better to communicate so much as I found good to the chiefest of those who were there present; and because I could not be there myself without great suspicion, I wrote the effect of this, to the best, and best to be trusted that were there assembled, that in these two points the queen's majesty would assist them. To the answer thereof they give good praise, and most humbly thank her majesty for having that care over them; and promise that nothing shall be attempted by them, tending to the breach of amity or alteration of religion, except to the better, which two points being observed by her majesty, they doubt not but God will prosper her *."

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1565. June 13th.

Thus assured of the decided support of Elizabeth, if they continued to represent religion, and an alliance between the two British nations, as their great objects, they appointed the Lairds of Cuninghamhead, Spot, Lundie, Grange, and one representative for the boroughs, to carry the articles to their own queen, accompanied with a supplication still

* Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 2d July, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 330. He has copied the most material parts of the letter from the original in the Cotton Library, Cal B. x. and it may be seen at full length, in Keith B, ii. ch. viii.

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more offensive than these articles; for in it they attribute to the erection of the mass upon her arrival, the lamentable decay of pure religion, and the increasing influence of that superstition, which, by the victorious efforts of the Congregation, had in a great degree been exploded *.

Conduct of Mary.

These men went to Perth, where Mary then was, and having delivered the sentiments and petitions of the assembly, they requested her majesty to consider them, and to return to them her answer. As she went to Dunkeld next day, they followed her, and solicited an immediate reply; but she perceived the design of those by whom they were sent, and under pretence of being anxious to have the advice of her council in a matter of so much importance, she declined entering upon the subject till she returned to Edinburgh †.

Violence of the Protestants in Edinburgh.

But the zealous protestants in the metropolis, or the leading men who directed them, did not rest satisfied with this insidious attempt to entangle their sovereign, and to alienate from her the affections of her subjects; they endeavoured to intimidate her into a compliance with their unwarrantable preten-

* Randolph's letter to Cecil, last quoted, compared with Knox, B. v. p. 375. The supplication is copied from the Cotton Library by Crawford, Vol. I. and Keith, B. iii. ch. iv. Randolph's list of commissioners does not correspond with that given by Knox, the former including amongst them the Earl of Glencairn. Knox, however, is probably correct. The nobility did not wish to take an apparent lead in the assembly, and for this reason would not wish one of their own number to be in the deputation.

† Knox, B. v. p. 376.

sions. During the meeting of the assembly, pretending that the catholics had become more openly regardless of the proclamations, they assembled in a warlike manner in the immediate neighbourhood, passed a resolution that they would defend themselves, in other words, that they would take into their own hands the administration of law against the enemies of the reformation; and with the most daring contempt of government, they elected eight persons of the greatest influence amongst them, to take care that the brethren were ready armed *.

Such a combination merited the most summary and heavy punishment. It was justified by no pretence of necessity; there were no formidable attempts to wrest from the protestants the privileges which they enjoyed; they were the ruling party, and were persecuting, with all the rigour of inquisitors, the unfortunate catholics who could not conceal themselves from their observation.

Mary, like a good sovereign, instantly resisted these criminal proceedings. Some accounts mention, that she no sooner heard of the outrage than she wrote to the magistrates of Edinburgh, commanding them to apprehend the ringleaders; and when she arrived in her capital she ordered inventories of their property to be taken, and their houses to be seized, till their guilt, if they should be appre-

* Knox, B. v. p. 375, 376. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 190. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 132.

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hended, for they had made their escape, was legally established. Yet much cause as she had to be offended, she listened to the solicitations of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and pardoned the offenders *.

Mildness of the queen.

This conduct of Mary was so far removed from severity, that it may perhaps be blamed as leaning too much to the side of mercy. Yet her enemies endeavoured to represent it as affording decisive evidence of her intention to rule with the most unrelenting despotism. Knox has not scrupled to say, that the hearts of all men of spirit were wounded when they perceived things so furiously handled; and even Randolph, who, although he was the tool of the unworthy and double policy of his sovereign, might have been supposed to be without the reach of narrow party spirit delighting in calumny, taking his tone from the discontented nobles, wrote to Cecil, that he considered the orders to apprehend the men who had headed the sedition as a clear proof that the queen intended to persecute those who were of the religion †.

Murray and Argyll having now attached to them

* Knox, B. v. p. 377. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 190. Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. p. 297. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 182.

† Knox, as last quoted. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 4th of July, copied by Crawford from Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. into his Collections, Vol. I. p. 337. How unfounded Randolph's assertion was, may be seen from the Acts of the Privy Council, in the Appendix to the second Book of Keith's Hist. No 9.

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1565. The Lords seek the assistance of Elizabeth.

the preachers, strenuously exerted themselves to procure effective assistance from Elizabeth; and as the assembly had expressed its gratitude for the message of that princess, they corresponded with Randolph, requesting him to convey to her full information of their schemes, and of the aid which they expected. He lost no time in explaining their views to Cecil. After mentioning to him the apprehensions of the protestants, who had stimulated the people to take arms, he proceeds to tell him, that the two earls thought it time to apply a remedy, and that they depended greatly upon the comfort received from the queen's majesty of England. "They know," he adds, "that it as well tendeth to her majesty's surety for that which may ensue, as the present hurt and danger to themselves. Wherefore having considered her majesty's goodly offer to concur with them, and to assist them, and seeing that there is nothing proposed herein, but the ground thereof is good, honourable, and dutiful, as from subjects that see how far their sovereign is led, by unadvised persons, from her duty to God, and care that she ought to have of the weal of their country, they most humbly desire performance of her majesty's promise; and for signification of their minds in their own names, and names of their brethren, have sent unto me this letter inclosed, by a gentleman of good trust, whose credit is this in effect, that the said lords do see their sovereign determined to overthrow the religion received, sore

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bent against those who desire the amity or alliance between the two kingdoms to be continued, which two points they are bound in conscience to maintain and defend; and therefore, are determined to withstand all attempts that shall be made against them, and are resolved to provide for their sovereign's state, better than at this time she can consider thereof herself *."

This extract from Randolph's confidential correspondence with Cecil, fully establishes what has been already mentioned, that Murray and his faction, under pretence of defending the protestant faith, and the alliance with England so necessary for preserving it, were to involve the country in the horrors of war, that they might compel their sovereign either to abjure her religion, or to vest in them or their leader, the whole authority of the crown. It is also placed beyond a doubt, not only that the seditious or traitorous plan was approved by Elizabeth, but that she had really given specific promises of support, and led the discontented lords to look up to her as to their assured ally.

When, after contemplating these violent and rebellious measures, we reflect, that the past conduct of Mary furnished no excuse for having recourse to them,—that at this very time she was preparing to give her hand to a young man, of most noble descent indeed, but without affluence or power,—to

* Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 4th of July, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 335. It is a most interesting document.

the very man whom the hostile nobles had once recommended, and whom the queen of England wished her to espouse,—a man probably of little religion, and certainly not disposed to interfere with the faith of the people,—it is impossible not to believe that motives very different from religious zeal soon came to direct the faction,—it is impossible not to condemn the cruel and infamous hypocrisy of Elizabeth,—not to pity Mary, who found herself deserted by those in whom she had confided, duped and oppressed by a princess whom, in so far as respected her choice of a husband, she wished to gratify. 1565.

Elizabeth's conduct censured.

The vices which stained her after life, I have no intention to palliate or to deny; but surely the most inveterate enemies to her memory, even while they draw these vices in the blackest colours, must admit, that the queen of England in no slight degree shared their guilt. It was her deceitful intrigues which poisoned the happiness of Mary, which estranged from her those whose counsels would have rendered her a blessing to her subjects, which, leaving her helpless and inexperienced, without a friend in whom she could trust, sunk her in despair,—which clouded her understanding and perverted the amiable feelings of her heart. It was these intrigues which at length drove her from a throne to mourn in the dreariness of a prison, till she was iniquitously massacred on a scaffold by the mandate of the very woman who had blasted

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her felicity, and with unwearied rancour plotted her destruction.

1565. Intrepidity and prudence of Mary.

But although Mary was agitated and distressed by the obstacles which were opposed, not only to her marriage, but to the tranquillity of her reign, she acted with a judgment and an energy worthy of admiration, and which were at this time rewarded by complete success in crushing her factious nobles.

Upon her return to Edinburgh, after having narrowly escaped, or believing that she had escaped, from being seized by her enemies, she assembled her council, and to render abortive Murray's attempts to stir up the people, she issued, and caused everywhere to be proclaimed, what was entitled an assurance towards the state of religion. In this assurance, after declaring "that divers evil disposed persons had disseminated false reports that her majesty intended to molest her subjects in using freely their religion and conscience, she certified and assured all her loving subjects, that as they had never been hitherto molested by her on account of religion, they might rest satisfied they would never in time coming be put on that account to inconveniency; but would, if they remained dutiful, ever find her to be an indulgent sovereign, averse to all innovation *."

July 12th. Defeats the designs of the faction.

The distracted state of the country rendering it

* Keith, Appendix to B. ii. No. 9. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 56. Mackenzie's life of Queen Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 273.

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1565. July 20th.

inexpedient to convene parliament on the day originally appointed, it was prorogued by an order of council till the first of September; and as it had now become apparent, that the disaffected lords were resolved to have recourse to the sword, a proclamation in the queen's name was published, charging all her subjects to join her in arms for resisting her enemies, under pain of being held as consenting to their treason. On the sixteenth, Mary addressed a letter to various noblemen in different counties, in which, after vindicating herself from the calumnies of those who opposed her government, assuring them of security in matters of religion, expressing her approbation of their preceding conduct, and her conviction of their steady loyalty, she entreated them, "that if, under the pretence of religion they should be solicited to rise against her, they would pay no attention to the attempts made to seduce them, but that in case of necessity of her having to do with their old enemies or otherwise, they would give assurance by the bearer what she might expect from their attachment to her *."

Murray and the confederates, who did not pro-

* Copied from an original in the Cotton Library, Cal. B. x. by Crawford, in Vol. I. p. 341, 342, and by Keith, p. 298, 299, who mentions that it was all written by her majesty's own hand. Knox, p. v. p. 378, 379, giver the letter somewhat differently, and says, that it was subscribed on the 17th. The original had not been before him, and he had written from recollection, for the substance of both letters is the same. The expression "our old enemies" gave much offence to Randolph, and he adverts to it in one of his letters to Cecil.

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bably expect that the queen would act with such promptitude and decision, saw the necessity of making the most serious preparations for the opposition with which they were threatened. They met at Stirling, professedly to consult upon what was essential for the safety of religion; they there entered into a formal combination to resist the queen's marriage, and wrote a joint letter to Elizabeth, acknowledging with much gratitude the intimation which they had received from her minister of her gracious intentions towards them, stating their apprehension of their sovereign's enmity to religion, and throwing themselves upon her majesty's bounty. This letter was dispatched by a messenger, who was instructed to explain more fully than it was prudent to do in writing, the situation and expectations of the lords; and it is probable that it was by this man that a large sum of money which came to Scotland for their use, was transmitted *.

Loyalty of the people.

The loyal inhabitants of her kingdom obeyed the requisition of their queen, and assembled in considerable numbers at Edinburgh. The people in general were thoroughly satisfied that she had no design to attack their religion; even Randolph was compelled to acknowledge, that, from political considerations, she had relinquished her schemes against the protestant church; and notwithstand-

* Letter of the Lords, signed by James Hamilton, Argyll, James Stewart, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 340, and Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. Knox, B. v. p. 378 and 380. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 323.

ing the former popularity of the Earl of Murray—notwithstanding the countenance which the preachers and the General Assembly had given to him—notwithstanding his representations that he was suffering on account of his zeal, he found much coldness, much aversion, to grant him the assistance which he required. Many indeed openly ascribed his opposition to government not to religious principle, but to envy, jealousy, and discontent *.

While Mary had thus the happiness of perceiving how much a great part of her subjects approved her measures, while numbers daily resorted to Edinburgh to defend the throne, while bonds were framed in many parts of the country for suppressing rebellion, she combined prudence and moderation. She recalled Bothwell, who, profligate as he was, would readily join with her against Murray; she determined not only to pardon Lord Gordon, but to restore to him the title of Earl of Huntly, and the extensive domains which had belonged to his house; but still she made many efforts to conciliate her brother. She offered him a safe conduct to court,—she expressed the most earnest desire to be reconciled to him; but with sullen obstinacy he declined reconciliation, preferring to it the uncertainty and the guilt of civil war †.

* Knox, B. v. p. 380. Randolph's Letters to Cecil, dated the 19th and 21st of July, at the end of the first Vol. of Crawford's Collection, and in Keith, B. ii. ch. viii.

† Knox, B. v. p. 379. Keith, Appendix to B. ii. No. 9. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 323. Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 19th July, in Crawford, Vol. I. and Keith, B. ii. ch. viii. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 91.

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1565. July 23d. Finding herself now secure against any immediate act of violence, she resolved to solemnize her marriage. A few days preceding it, Darnly was created Duke of Albany, and on the 29th of July, between five and six in the morning, the ceremony was performed *. On the night before, she had, by proclamation, intimated her intention, giving Darnly in this instrument the title of king; and after the marriage she, by another proclamation, confirming the former, ordained, that all letters and deeds should henceforth be issued in the names of the king and queen of Scotland conjunctly †. This rash step, which intoxicated the imprudent and inexperienced Darnly, which was taken without the advice of her council, and which, both from regard to the immemorial practice of the country, and her own happiness, should have been deferred till the meeting of parliament, was instantly laid hold of by the discontented faction. They published a manifesto, in which they affirmed that the kingdom was openly wronged, the liberties thereof oppressed, and a king imposed upon the people without advice and consent of the estates, a thing not practised before at any time, and contrary to the laws and received custom of the kingdom; desiring, therefore, all good subjects to take the matter to heart, and

Queen's marriage with Darnly. July 30th. Rashly gives him the title of king.

* Knox, B. v. p. 379, 380. By mistake, the marriage is stated in Knox's History to have been upon the 19th instead of the 29th. Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. Buchanan, p. 342. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 57. Spottiswoode, p. 191.

† Buchanan, p. 342. Knox, p. 380. Keith, p. 306—308.

to join with them in resisting these beginnings of tyranny *.

1565.

The people, whom experience had fortunately taught, that the alarming representations of Murray and his party respecting the hazardous state of religion, were in a great degree unfounded, and who had accordingly listened with little emotion to these representations, were not much affected by an appeal to them upon a point of constitutional law. Murray looked in vain for the multitudes whom he had once seen hastening to join his standard; and far from being able, as he had hoped, to dictate to the queen, he was compelled with his associates to flee from Paisley at her approach †.

Aug. 30th.

The cause of the disaffected lords became daily more unpopular. The places upon which they had most reliance revolted from them; they could not obtain soldiers even for pay, while the royal forces rapidly increased, and all classes seemed to vie in testifying to their sovereigns how much the state of the public mind had been mistaken or misrepresented.

It is unnecessary to trace the efforts, or rather to follow the retreats of the rebellious nobles. They never encountered the queen's army, but having

* Spottiswoode, p. 191. Buchanan, p. 342. Camden's Annals, p. 97.

† Knox, B. v. p. 381. Buchanan, p. 342. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 192. Mackenzie's life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 274, 275. Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. p. 315. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 184.

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exhausted every expedient for repairing their decaying fortunes, they yielded to necessity, and being proclaimed rebels, they took refuge in England, within a few months after the marriage which they had so violently opposed *.

1565.

* The lords flee to England. * Oct. 10th.

From many private persons in that kingdom they met with every attention which the kindness of hospitality could pay; and fully persuaded, as they had every reason to be, that Elizabeth, who had promised to hazard her crown in their defence, would, notwithstanding a treaty binding the sovereigns of the two British nations not to give shelter to the rebellious subjects of either, comfort them by the most cordial reception, they appointed the Earl of Murray and Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, to repair to the English metropolis, while the rest of them remained at Newcastle, waiting the result of the embassy †.

Their reception there.

The manner in which Murray and his companion were received, although perfectly consistent with the hypocrisy of Elizabeth, was very different from what they had expected, and was attended with circumstances in the most mortifying degree contemptuous.

Agreeably to her promise, and to distract the

* Knox, B. v. p. 380–384. Buch. Lib. xvii. p. 343. Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. Camden's Annals, p. 98. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 56, 57. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 184. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 79.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 57. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 192. Knox, B. v. p. 388. Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. p. 319.

councils of Mary, she had, about the time of the marriage, remonstrated with that princess upon her conduct to her brother, and upon the different grounds of offence which he had taken. Her instructions to Tamworth, the person whom she sent upon this ungracious embassy, were conveyed in terms which no sovereign who had not lost the independence of his mind, as well as of his crown, could have heard without indignation. Mary upon this occasion threw aside the respect which she had so long professed to feel for the insidious counsels of her dangerous neighbour; and peculiarly irritated at the attempt to apologize for Murray, who was actually in arms against her, she desired that the English queen would not interfere with the administration of Scotland, or with the part which she acted towards any of her own subjects, as she was answerable only to God, and had never attempted to direct the government of Elizabeth *.

CHAP. XXIV. 1565. July 31st.

But when this effort in favour of Murray failed, and when Elizabeth learnt from Randolph, who was now strictly watched, being deservedly considered rather as a spy and an incendiary than an ambassador, that the discontented lords had been unsuccessful, and that the people were not disposed to abet their seditious designs, she resolved most so-

* Keith, Appendix to B. ii. No. 7, has given a copy of the instructions to Tamworth, and of the answers of the Scotish queen, taken from the shattered MSS. Spottiswoode p. 192, who has fallen into an error as to the time of Tamworth's embassy. Camden's Annals, p. 99.

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lemnly to disavow any knowledge of the intentions of the faction, or at least all participation in their schemes.—To this she was chiefly led by the representations of the Spanish and French ambassadors, who were enjoined by their respective courts to complain that she fomented the disturbances in Scotland. In pursuance of her determination, she at first refused to grant an audience to Murray; and when she at length admitted him into her presence, she asked him, how he, being a rebel to her sister in Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to enter within her realm? plainly telling him, "that she had never promised to support him, nor had ever intended any thing in that way." Alarmed at her firmness, or probably by some secret information instructed in what would be agreeable to her, he and Kilwinning, with much meanness, confessed to her upon their knees, in the presence of the ambassadors, that she had not moved them to the opposition which they had made to their queen's marriage. Of this false declaration she took the advantage which she intended; for, to remove the suspicions of foreign powers, she immediately replied, "Now you have told the truth—your abominable treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me, therefore get you out of my presence, you are but unworthy traitors *." Throk-

* Sir James Melvil in his Memoirs, p. 57, has given a very interesting account of this scene of dissimulation. Knox's account in p. 388, 389, confirms the duplicity of Elizabeth; but, far from charging

morton, who, as well as Randolph, had been employed to convey her promises to the Scotish lords, was filled with honest indignation at this deceit. He openly declared, fearless of the resentment of the court, what he had done, and he would probably have suffered for his integrity, had he not preserved and offered to produce the secret order of council upon which he had acted *. 1565.

But although Murray was thus disdainfully sent from court, he was assured that the queen would support him, and, through the Earl of Bedford, she supplied him with money till he returned to Scotland †.

Murray with the meanness ascribed to him by Melvil, it represents him as making such answer as an honourable man would have done: "Madam, whatsoever thing your majesty meant in your heart, we are therefore ignorant, but thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faithful promises of aid and support by your ambassador and familiar servants in your name; and farther, we have your own hand-writing confirming the said promises." I must acknowledge, that it seems to me highly improbable that this answer was given. Had Murray spoken with such freedom, he would have kindled the indignation of Elizabeth, who had no inclination to listen to remonstrance, and he would not have obtained from her the assistance which was afterwards afforded. I have preferred the account given by Melvil, who had the best opportunities of information. Heylin, p. 184.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 60.

† Camden's Annals, p. 98. Sir James Melvil says, that Elizabeth gave no secret aid to Murray and the exiles; but the account of Camden is confirmed by Knox, who had full access to be acquainted with the fact. He tells, that the queen sent them some aid, whether she had promised it in private to the Earl of Murray, or whether she repented of the harsh treatment which she had given to him, B. v. p. 389.

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1565. Mary acts with moderation. Oct.

Mary having succeeded in driving the rebellious lords from her dominions, and in restoring tranquillity, returned with the king to Edinburgh. She was now placed in a new situation. The party with which, upon her arrival, she had conceived it prudent to act, having declared against her, was expelled; she had been supported, in defending her authority against men who had long directed the public mind, by the zealous efforts of her subjects, and she had received the most gratifying proof, that, while a sovereign consults the happiness of his people, and exhibits in his own conduct a steady regard to honour and virtue, he must possess an influence which the most artful intrigues of faction will generally fail to subvert. Happy would it have been for her, had she deeply impressed upon her heart this interesting lesson—had she been able to preserve the dignity and the integrity which had hitherto embellished her beauty, and gained the warmest affections of those over whom she reigned.

Her first measures after her return were dictated by wisdom, and an enlightened concern for the national prosperity. To convince the country that her professions of respect for the prevailing religion had not been extorted by terror, that the regard which she had shewn to the professors arose as much from her own inclination as from the representations or the authority of her brother, she continued to receive, in the most gracious manner, the requests of the preachers, and she readily assured them, that she would provide for the regular pay-

ment of their stipends, which, from the late disturbances, and the change of a comptroller, had been suspended *. She also, with much propriety, disclosed the various propositions which the discontented lords had made to her, in all of which it was stipulated, that the king and queen should be governed by the advice and counsel of the true nobility of the realm, an appellation appropriated to themselves; and she thus rendered it apparent to such as were open to conviction, that Murray and his adherents had been influenced much more by ambition than by regard to religion †. CHAP. XXIV. 1565.

Soon after the marriage, the king, to destroy the clamour which had been raised concerning his bigotted attachment to popery, attended divine worship in the church of St Giles. Upon this occasion Knox preached a most intemperate and injudicious sermon. Taking for his text these words: "O Lord our God, other Gods than thou have ruled over us," he expatiated upon the government of wicked princes, and in the course of his illustration, said, "God raises to the throne for the offences and ingratitude of the people, boys and women ‡." The king was much exasperated by this attack, so indecently and so publickly made upon him, and Knox was summoned to appear before the council. He had Aug. 19. Sermon of Knox.

* Knox, B. v. p. 387, 388.

† Knox, B. v. p. 384, 385.

‡ Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 183, 184. Keith, p. 546, 547. Knox, B. v. p. 381. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 191, 192.

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recourse to his usual defence, fallacious as it was dangerous, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text, adding, that if the church should command him to refrain from preaching, he would obey in as far as he could consistently with his conscience. This plea would not have availed him, had not the queen been unwilling, in the distracted state of the country, and when so many of the protestants had declared for her, to make an example of a man whom they so much revered. He was accordingly dismissed, with no other punishment than a prohibition from preaching for several weeks*.

Although it is impossible to justify the language used by Knox in this sermon, yet some apology for it may be rested upon the apprehensions with which, from his peculiar situation, and the part which he had so conspicuously acted, he was naturally filled. He knew that Mary was in her heart devoted to the catholic religion,—he knew, that whatever might be her own inclination to adhere to the moderate policy which she had, from her arrival, followed with respect to the protestants, she would be unceasing-

* Knox, B. v p. 381. Spottiswoode, p. 191, represents Knox as speaking with much defiance, and in express justification of what he had done; but his own authority is unquestionable. Keith, B. iii. ch. iv. p. 546, 547. This writer expresses some doubt, whether Knox obeyed this injunction, founding his doubt upon an act of the council of Edinburgh, in which they indecently declare, that they will no manner of way consent that the mouth of Knox should be closed. This might have been intended to shew their reverence for Knox but he was too wise a man to prefer the authority of the council of Edinburgh to that of the privy-council.

ly advised by her relations in France to disseminate her own opinions; he considered Murray, and the lords and barons who adhered to him, as the only persons who could counteract this influence, and guard the infant establishment; and thus believing that the great cause for which he had so long contended was in danger, he could not resist ascribing to the anger of heaven, the exaltation of those rulers by whom its destruction was to be effected.

Thoroughly understood as government now is, established as are those rules, which most properly secure to the sovereign expressions of the utmost respect from all his subjects, such freedom as was taken by the reformer must appear highly criminal; but it is to be recollected, that similar modes of address were in that rude age not uncommon; that the nobility were accustomed to speak most freely to their rulers; and that this practice prevailed more in Scotland, from the opposition which had so long subsisted between the regent and the Congregation.

Queen's answer to the articles of the assembly.

Soon after this the queen returned an answer to the articles which the assembly, held in June, had presented to her. In this answer, she expressed her determination to adhere to her own religion, and her conviction of its truth; but she promised to allow perfect liberty of conscience, and to respect the form of religion which she had found existing, till the estates had made some final regulations respecting the faith of her subjects. This answer was

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taken under consideration in the assembly which met in December. In the reply which was framed, the members offered to prove the inconsistency of popery with the word of God; the most earnest representations were again made of the distress suffered by the ministers from their stipends being irregularly paid, and a deputation was sent to wait upon her majesty, to lay before her the sentiments of the assembly. The deputation requested that she would condescend to hear a disputation between the ministers and friars. This she wisely declined; but she told them, that she was always minded that the stipends of the ministers should be given to them; she ascribed the negligence of which they complained to the late comptroller, and assured them, that, with advice of her council, such regulations would be soon made as would prevent all future complaint *.

Her refusal to permit a disputation, conjoined as it was by the protestants with some other circumstances which happened at this time, strongly agitated the minds of the people. The Earls of Lennox, Atholl, and Cassillis had, to gratify Mary, openly attended the celebration of mass. Friars had been allowed to preach; and the catholics, encou-

* The articles of the assembly in June, the answer of the queen, the reply and supplication of the next assembly, may be all seen together in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 193, copied from the Cotton Library, and by some mistake placed under the year 1560. Knox, B. v. p. 389—391. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 192, 193. Keith, B. iii. ch. iv. p. 552—555.

raged by this relaxation of opposition to them, became more confident that they would yet see the restoration of the ancient church * 1565.

To prevent these indications of a change of system from being regarded with indifference, a solemn fast was appointed; and amongst the reasons for appointing it, this held a conspicuous place,—"the bearing with manifest idolatry, and suffering the realm that God had once purged, to be polluted again with that abomination."—Probably in allusion to the conduct of part of the nobility, it was mentioned, that some whom God had once made instruments to suppress that impiety, had been active in conveying the idol through all quarters of the kingdom †.

Her delicate situation.

From these resolutions the delicacy of Mary's situation is apparent. Although Murray had banished himself, and had been denounced as a traitor, he retained the esteem of all who were attached to the reformation. Suspicions of the queen's intentions were widely disseminated and carefully strengthened; so that nothing but the most scrupulous caution, the most unwearied vigilance, the most assiduous attention to the prejudices and feelings of the people, could have secured to her the continuance of that influence and that respect which, for some months after her marriage, she enjoyed.

* Knox, B. v. p. 389—390.

† Knox, B. v. p. 390. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 40.

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But the prospect, which had assumed a momentary brightness, now began to be deeply overcast, and it is necessary particularly to unfold the causes of those dismal events, which soon stained the history of Scotland, which terminated in the ruin of Mary, and gave to the protestants that complete ascendancy which, amidst all subsequent convulsions and revolutions, they have happily possessed.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIFTH.

Character of Darnly....Disappointment of the Queen.... Increasing influence and arrogance of Rizzio....Letter of Throkmorton to the Queen of Scotland....Parliament summoned....Scheme for preventing its being assembled.... The King agrees to promote it....Murder of Rizzio.... Effect of it upon the Queen....She suspects her husband.... She escapes with him....Return of Murray and the Lords....Contemptible conduct of the King....Murray and the Lords are pardoned....Mary's partiality to the Earl of Bothwell....Death of Rathven....Queen again favours the Protestants....She is delivered of a son.... Joy occasioned by this....It is intimated to Elizabeth.... King discontented....First proposal of a divorce....Artful and insinuating behaviour of Bothwell....Queen shews her attachment to him....Her illness....The King coldly received....Renewed proposal of a divorce....Rejected....Baptism of the young prince....The King not present at the ceremony....He leaves the court....General Assembly....Views of the preachers respecting tythes.... Knox permitted to go to England....The Archbishop of St Andrews invested with his former jurisdiction.... Remonstrances against this....Illness of the King.... The Queen visits him.....Apparent renewal of affection....She brings him to Edinburgh ...He is murdered.... Conduct of Mary....Bothwell suspected....Imprudence and criminality of the Queen's subsequent conduct.... She determines to marry Bothwell. ..Disregards every remonstrance....Universal indignation and horror....

Bans published....Intrepidity of Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh....The marriage takes place....Reflections upon it.

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MARY soon found that her choice of Darnly would not contribute to her happiness. Immoderately attached to the sports of the field, and addicted to many grovelling vices, he surrendered himself to the most debasing intemperance. Negligent of his illustrious consort, he nevertheless loudly complained that she did not feel the same admiration with which she had at first regarded him, and he readily listened to the artful representations of those flatterers, who, to gain his favour, or to promote their own designs, studiously increased the discontent which he was disposed to cherish. The queen could ill brook this ungenerous and contemptuous requital of her love. She had delighted in the society of her husband, but with this she was seldom gratified; and when he came into her presence, he occasionally conducted himself with an insolence and a roughness of manner which were too well calculated to diminish her esteem and to estrange her affections *.

1565. Character of Darnly.

Disappointment of the queen.

Finding that he was little qualified to take an active part in the administration of government, and shocked with his mean or frivolous habits, she

* Knox, B. v. p. 289 and 101. Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. p. 320, has published an extract from a letter of Sir William Drury to Cecil, which throws much light upon the conduct of Darnly. Randolph, in Keith, p. 329.

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sought the counsels of those whom she believed to be not only attached to her interest, but able to promote it; and, reposing little confidence in Morton and Ruthven, who, although they had not joined in the late rebellion, were united by the same religious sentiments with the exiled lords, she listened with increasing deference to Rizzio, whom she had for some time regarded as in a high degree anxious to secure and to defend the just authority of the crown [*]. The power of this man became daily

Increasing influence and arrogance of Rizzio

[*] Knox, B. v. p. 383. Spottiswoode, p. 194. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 58. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. v. p. 197. Keith, p. 330. Buchanan, p. 344. Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, published by Crawford of Drumsoy, 2d edit. Ed. 1733. Crawford, in his preface to this book, mentions, "that he had all the substance of the work from an ancient MS. presented to him by Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall, who purchased it by mere accident from the necessitous widow of an episcopal clergyman. That the author of the MS., of whose fortune and character he was wholly in the dark, was, as might be gathered from his works, a man of sense, and one that made not a very mean figure in the world, as appears by the justness and solidity of his reflections, and his more exact and particular account of the various transactions and turns of state in his time than is to be met with from any one author upon the same subject." The MS. of such a man, living, as it is plain that he did, at the period of which he writes, would have been a valuable document, but, unluckily and injudiciously, instead of publishing it as it was composed by the author, Crawford preferred giving the matter of it in his own words. He has stated his reason for doing so: "If I had delivered things in his own style, it would have proved tedious and heavy to the nice reader, and, by many in our neighbouring nation, could hardly have been understood without a dictionary." But he not only, if I may use the expression, translated the work from the Scotch into the English language, but he made many inversions from other writers, and he altered the form and method of the MS., "the author not having fully digested his matter, but marked down things just when they hap

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more conspicuous. The court was directed by his will; the royal favour was conferred agreeably to his solicitations. So decided was his influence, that the Earl of Murray, in his eagerness to be restored to his country, so far forgot his dignity, as to request that this minion would intercede with the Queen; and, to secure compliance with the solicitation, he accompanied it with a munificent present *.

Morton and the other nobles beheld the ascendancy of this obscure foreigner with the most indignant feelings. They considered the respectability of their sovereign, and the honour of their country, as equally contaminated by it: they dreaded that

pened, or when they came first within the reach of his knowledge." With all these freedoms, it was not unreasonable to entertain some doubts respecting the accuracy of Crawford's edition of the MS.; but I did not suppose that it would be possible to ascertain how far these doubts were well founded, as upon the republication of the Memoirs in 1753, the bookseller, in a Preface, informs the public, that the MS. itself had been lost or destroyed. I have now no doubt, however, that the MS. History and Life of James the Sixth, which I have already quoted, is the MS. or a copy of the MS. which Crawford had before him, and by comparing several passages, it is apparent that the spirit of the original author is not uniformly conveyed, that it would have been desirable that the MS. had been given without alteration, any additions appearing necessary to the editor being subjoined as notes, or an appendix. I shall afterwards refer to some passages of the MS. which I shall insert in my Appendix, and which the reader may compare with Crawford's Memoirs, in which, however, I must add, there is some important additional matter, of which I shall also avail myself. After writing the above, I found that Mr Laing had published, from another copy of the MS. the work to which this note refers, and that his opinion respecting it and the conduct of Crawford, agrees with mine.

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 63.

the most pernicious consequences might result from the artifices of a man who was warmly attached to the popish faith, who was supposed to be a pensioner of the pope, and who was certainly anxious to render a service to the head of the Catholic church*. 1565.

The splendour of his equipage exceeding that of the king himself; the greatness of his wealth; the arrogance with which he received the most distinguished of the nobility, mingled private feelings with a regard to the public good; and the party who sought to remove him became convinced, that their civil and religious liberties could be secured only by recalling Murray, by driving Rizzio from the court, and by compelling the queen again to adhere to that policy which, at the commencement of her administration, had diffused happiness and loyalty amongst all her subjects †.

Sir James Melvil, who enjoyed much of the queen's confidence, foresaw the evils which would follow if no change of measures took place. He suspected that designs against Rizzio had been formed, and he warned him of his danger; but, as the most effectual mode of removing discontent, he advised Mary to pardon the Earl of Murray and his associates, or at least not to proceed with severity against them ‡.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 57.

† Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 198, 194. Keith, p. 327.

‡ Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 59, 60. He says, that Rizzio evidenced disdain at all danger, and despised counsel

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Letter of Throkmorton to the Queen of Scotland.

The effect which the representations of so faithful a servant would naturally have produced, was increased by their being enforced by Sir Nicholas Throkmorton. That able minister was a sincere friend to Mary's succession to the English crown; he highly disapproved the hypocrisy and dissimulation which at this time characterized the policy of Elizabeth; and having, by conveying to the Scotish lords promises of support, which never were fulfilled, been instrumental in determining them to take arms, he wished to compensate, in some degree, for the evils which had resulted from these promises, by endeavouring to procure a reversal of the sentence which had been pronounced against Murray, and by recommending him and the other banished noblemen to the favour of the queen. In a most interesting letter, he pointed out to her the infinite importance of preserving tranquillity in Scotland, and particularly of uniting in her support the affections of the protestants throughout Great Britain; he shewed, that these objects would be most effectually secured by pardoning her brother, who, although he had given to her much cause of offence, was very generally considered by the friends of the reformation, as suffering on account of his religion; that, by taking him into favour, and burying the past in oblivion, she would give a pledge of her moderation in religious matters, which would recover to her the greatest part of the bishops in England, and would decide many of the most powerful

noblemen and gentlemen who had hitherto remained neutral *. CHAP. XXV.

The reasoning of Throkmorton, a man of profound political experience, and of whose cordiality as to her right of succession she was thoroughly convinced, at first disposed Mary to approve the scheme which he recommended; her understanding was convinced, and she was from natural disposition much more inclined to mercy than to severity. Even Rizzio was of the same opinion with her, partly flattered by the notice which Murray had taken of him, and partly disgusted by the king's hatred, which was becoming daily more obvious. 1566.

Unfortunately, however, accidental circumstances led the queen to change her sentiments, and to follow a line of conduct, which, independently of her rashness or her guilt, would in all probability have occasioned the revolt of her subjects. An ambassador arrived from France about the beginning of February, to invest her husband with the order of the knighthood of St Michael. This mark of attention was highly gratifying; and the court of France, upon the supposition that it would be so, soon dispatched another emissary, who was entrusted with a commission to treat with the queen, and to endeavour to prevail with her not only to shew no countenance to the banished lords, but to ac- 1566.

* Letter of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the Queen of Scotland, in behalf of the banished lords, in Melvil's Memoirs, p. 60—63, and copied by Keith, in B. ii. ch. ix. of his History.

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cede to a league, which, at the suggestion of the cardinal of Lorrain, had been formed for exterminating the protestant religion. Attached to her own faith, disgusted with the reformers, who, although she had long resigned herself to their counsels, had risen in rebellion, and had uniformly embarrassed her administration, desirous to gratify her uncle, whom she loved and revered, she subscribed the bond which the ambassador presented to her, and from that moment resolved to proceed against Murray with unrelenting rigour*.

Rizzio confirmed her in the determination which she had taken. The motives which had induced him to advise tenderness towards the lords, yielded to his aversion to offend a powerful confederacy of catholic princes, especially the pope, with whom he held a secret correspondence†.

Parliament summoned, 7th March.

Parliament was summoned to assemble on the twelfth of March, and in a previous meeting of some of the nobles, held for the purpose of making preliminary arrangements, it was resolved to propose that the estates of the banished lords should be forfeited‡.

Scheme to prevent its being assembled.

The friends of Murray now saw that their only hope of saving the lords must rest upon vigorous

* In Melvil's Memoirs, p. 63, 64. Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. p. 324, 325. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 325. Knox, B. v. p. 391, 392. Abstract from a letter of Randolph to Cecil, dated 6th Feb. published by Keith, in Appendix to his 2d Book, p. 167.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 64.

‡ Keith, p. 326.

attempts to prevent a parliament, so hostile to those in whom they were deeply interested, and which they dreaded, might make some bold effort to re-establish the catholic religion*. This apprehension was not without foundation. The queen, in a letter which she wrote to the archbishop of Glasgow, giving an account of the murder of Rizzio, says, in reference to the parliament, or rather to the meeting which preceded it: "We, accompanied with our nobility for the time, past to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for holding of our parliament, and elected the lords of articles; the spiritual estates being placed thereiny in the ancient manner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the old religion, and to have proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits †."

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The king's disgust at Rizzio, his readiness to receive any impressions against his queen, his wounded pride, presented to Morton, Ruthven, and Lethington, the most effectual instruments for carrying into execution the scheme which, at the suggestion of Maitland, they had adopted. They conveyed to Darnly the most scandalous and indecent insinuations respecting the cause of Rizzio's favour with Mary; they represented to him how much he

* Knox, B. v. p. 392. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 194. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 64. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 6. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 325, 326.

† Letter of Mary to the archbishop of Glasgow, dated 2d April 1566, published by Keith, B. ii. ch. ix., from the original in Colleg. Scot. Paris, Mem. Scot. Tom. II. fol. 161.

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was injured by not receiving the matrimonial crown: and when they had thus wrought upon his passions, they promised, that if he would consent to recal the banished lords, and to countenance the murder of Rizzio, they would gratify his ambition, and secure his authority. Headstrong and inexperienced, he did not weigh the fatal tendency of that mode of conduct to which he was urged. He at once consented to all which was required, and even expressed the utmost eagerness to hasten the atrocious deed, from which he should have revolted with horror. Aware, however, of his fickleness, and dreading the consequences which would follow if he changed his resolution, the conspirators required him to subscribe a bond, by which he pledged himself to defend the liberty and the religion of the kingdom. When this was done, and rendered more binding by the subscription of his father, a deed, to be signed by him and the absent lords, was written, in which these lords declared that they would be his dutiful subjects, and would procure for him the crown, upon condition of his restoring to them their honours and their domains*.

The king agrees to promote it.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 64. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 345. Knox, B. v. p. 393. Discourse of the late troubles in Scotland, by Lord Ruthven, published by Keith, in Appendix to B. ii. of his Hist. No. 11. Queen Mary's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, in Keith. Mackenzie's lives of Mary and of Lord Ruthven, in Vol. III. of his work. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 6, 7. This writer mentions what is not probable, that Darnly put his hand to a deed in which he confessed himself to be the author of the murder. MS. Hist. and Life of James the Sixth p. 4.

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Murder of Rizzio.

The plan having been fully matured, which, by exciting tumult and alarm, would infallibly prevent the meeting of parliament, the conspirators proceeded with a ferocity revolting to every feeling of humanity—with an excess of barbarity strongly indicating the savage manners then prevalent, even amongst the most illustrious inhabitants of Scotland. The queen, who was far advanced in pregnancy, was sitting at supper with the Countess of Argyll her natural sister, with Rizzio, and some other attendants, when the king entered her apartment. He was almost instantly followed by Ruthven and his accomplices, who immediately seized Rizzio. The queen, in the utmost alarm, implored them to use no violence; but regardless of her supplications, they tore the unhappy man from her presence, and cruelly murdered him at the door of the chamber*. 9th March.

Such an outrage might at any time have produced upon female delicacy the most melancholy effect; but its atrocity was aggravated by the situation of the queen, and had she not possessed uncommon strength of resolution, it might have occa-

* Queen Mary's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, compared with Ruthven's account in Keith's Appendix. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 64, 65. Knox, B. v. p. 392. Buchanan, p. 345, 346. Spottiswoode, B iv. p. 194. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 7—9. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 326. MS. History and Life of James the Sixth, p. 4, 5.

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sioned not only the loss of her infant, but her own destruction *.

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Effect of it upon the queen.

She was no sooner informed that her wretched favourite had been dispatched, than, drying up her tears, she resolved to avenge his death. Entertaining no doubt that the weakness and jealousy of the king had induced him to accede to the brutal scheme, she from this moment regarded him with a degree of detestation which subsequent good conduct might perhaps have removed, but which his folly and depravity daily increased. Melvil, with much probability, remarks, that there must have been a design to injure the queen by the exhibition of such a horrid scene. Had the intention of the Lords only been to get rid of Rizzio, that might have been done by strong and steady representation; or if they had considered it as necessary to imbrue their hands in his blood, he might have been sacrificed in any place rather than in the chamber of the sovereign †.

The tumult which was instantly excited, and the occupation of the avenues to the palace by Morton with a band of armed men, filled the noblemen, who resided within its walls, with serious alarm for their safety. The Earls of Huntly and Bothwell

* Camden's Annals, p. 113. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 7, 8. MS. Hist. p. 5.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 67. compared with Crawford as last quoted, and the queen's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Knox, however repels this accusation, saying, that the conspirators proposed to have hanged Rizzio; but surely they might have found him in other places, and might have sacrificed him without alarming the queen.

made their escape by a window, while the Earl of Atholl, secretary Lethington, who had not been trusted with the secret arrangements of his friends, and Sir James Balfour, were, after the most anxious suspense, permitted in the course of the evening to depart *. CHAP. XXV. 1566.

The queen herself was closely guarded, and it was certainly the intention of Morton and Ruthven to compel her to accede to the demands which, with traitorous presumption, they had resolved to present. In this distressing situation, suffering under extreme agitation, her presence of mind was conspicuously displayed. She represented to the king, in the strongest language, the folly and the danger of his conduct; and having prevailed upon him to interfere for removing the guard, she, in a few days, accompanied by Darnly, escaped from the palace, and fled to Dunbar †. Escapes with him. March 12th.

On the day after the murder, the king, without the consent, or even the knowledge of the queen, issued a proclamation, commanding that all who had voice in parliament should depart from the city; and on the same evening, Murray and the exiled lords, who had been informed of what was intended, came to Edinburgh, escorted by Lord Home, with about a thousand horsemen. Murray was intro- March 10th. Return of Murray and the lords.

* Spottiswoode, p. 195. Melvil, p. 67. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 326.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 65, 66. * Mary's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow. Knox, B. v. p. 394. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 326.

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duced to his sister, and affected to lament the hardship of her situation; but instead of throwing himself upon her mercy, he, with the other lords, on the day which had been appointed for the meeting of parliament, went to the place where that assembly was usually held, and there made protestation that he had been ready to answer whatever his accusers could allege against him *.

The queen was soon followed to Dunbar by those of the nobility who had not been accessory to the destruction of Rizzio, and being delivered from all dread of further violence, she seriously considered her situation, and what measures it would be prudent now to adopt. Her antipathy to her husband she did not attempt to dissemble; even while he was attending her, she lamented his folly, his ingratitude, his misbehaviour; and although Sir James Melvil, to extenuate Darnly's guilt, spoke of his youth, and of the artifices which had been employed to mislead him, her hatred was not diminished. That statesman honestly acknowledges "that he could perceive nothing from that day forth but great grudges that she entertained in her heart †."

Contemptible conduct of the king. March 20th.

The king soon rendered himself universally contemptible. With the thoughtlessness of a weak mind, he attempted to convince the people that he was innocent, by publickly asserting that he was so.

* Knox, B. v. p. 394. Camden's Annals, p. 114. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 326.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 66.

The deed which he had subscribed was produced to expose the falsehood of his assertion, and this decisive proof of his total disregard to honour degraded him in the eyes of the queen no less than the guilt, of which she never doubted *. 1566

Morton and Ruthven fled into England, but the exiled lords were pardoned; and Mary resolved to recur to the policy which she had unhappily abandoned. After her return to Edinburgh, she laboured to unite the wisest and the most powerful of of the nobility. Sending for Murray and Argyll, she, with the utmost address, reconciled them to the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell, and all these noblemen continued to attend her during the remainder of the summer †. Murray and the lords are pardoned.

But while she acted thus wisely in attempting to restore tranquillity, her partiality for the Earl of Bothwell became too apparent. His influence over her daily increased, and he employed it to excite suspicions of Murray, for the purpose of preventing that nobleman from regaining the direction of the royal counsels ‡. Mary's partiality to the Earl of Bothwell

Upon learning that the murderers of Rizzio had taken refuge in England, Mary applied to Elizabeth to refuse them an asylum in her dominions. As this request could not with any decency be open-

* Knox, B. v. p. 395. Abstract of Letters from Randolph to Cecil, in Keith's Appendix to B. ii. of his History.

† Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 327, 328. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 347. Knox, B. v. p. 396.

‡ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 67. Knox, p. 396

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ly refused, they were commanded by proclamation to leave England; but it has been alleged that they were privately encouraged to remain; and Ruthven, worn out with disease, and tortured by remorse, soon after expired at Newcastle*.

Death of Ruthven. 13th June.

Queen again favours the protestants.

In conformity with her change of views, the queen again extended her protection to the preachers. When a supplication respecting the patrimony of the church was presented to her by the superintendent of Lothian, she received it with her accustomed graciousness, and promised that she would recommend to her council, and to the first convention of the nobility, the final adjustment of the ecclesiastical revenue†.

She is delivered of a son.

Her situation now strongly excited the anxiety of her subjects. The time of her delivery approached, and they heard with unfeigned joy that she had in safety brought forth a son. The nobles, and many of the people, assembled in the High Church, and after having, with the most impressive solemnity, returned thanks to God for the birth of the prince, they fervently implored that he might be blessed with piety and virtue, with wisdom to govern his kingdom when he should be called to sway the sceptre‡. The assembly of the church,

19th June.

Joy occasioned by this.

* Keith, B. ii. ch. ix. p. 334. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 328.

† Knox. B. v. p. 396, 397.

‡ Knox, B. v. p. 397. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 196. MS. Life and History of James the Sixth, p. 1. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 69 Keith, B. ii. p. 339. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 328.

which was then met, sent the superintendent of Lothian to present their congratulations, and to request that the prince might be baptized according to the practice of the reformed churches. When he was admitted, the queen ordered the child to be brought. The superintendent took him in his arms, and falling upon his knees, earnestly prayed for the happiness of the prince. Mary listened with the strong delightful emotions of an affectionate parent. Forgetting religious differences, she regarded Spottiswoode with much kindness, and James himself, to whom the story was afterwards told, ever revered this good man as his spiritual father *.

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Sir James Melvil, who had been commanded to be in readiness to convey to England the intelligence of Mary's delivery, instantly upon learning that a son was born, left Edinburgh, and with speed now equalled every day, but then mentioned as remarkable, posted to the English court. Upon his coming to Greenwich, where the court then was, he found Elizabeth, as he has expressed it, in great mirth. But when Cecil whispered to her the birth of the Scotish prince, her mirth was dissipated. A pang of envy agonized her mind, her agitation became apparent, and she could not refrain from exclaiming to some of her attendants, "The queen of

It is intimated to Elizabeth

* Archbishop Spottiswoode records this anecdote of his father with apparent and most natural satisfaction, B. iv. p. 196. Keith has given it from the MS. copy of the prelate's History. See B. iii. ch. v. p 357.

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Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am a barren stock." Next morning, however, she received Melvil with a cheerful countenance, and, in her usual strain of dissimulation, assured him that the glad intelligence which he had brought had recovered her from a severe fit of sickness. With much politeness she thanked him for having so speedily accomplished his journey; and after hearing from him some expressions of compliment, and some observations, designed, as he tells us, to give her a little scare from marriage, she promised to send both honourable lords and ladies to represent her when the ceremony of baptism was performed *.

King discontented.

Amidst the joy which the birth of an heir to the crown had diffused, the king, to whom that event should have communicated the greatest happiness, was sullen and discontented. Uneasy at the marked contempt with which he was treated, for all shunned his company, and sensible, that with his respectability the love of Mary was for ever extinguished, he had once resolved to leave the country. This resolution he was induced to abandon; but, so far was the queen from regarding him with tenderness, that she had listened to some insinuations respecting the expediency of obtaining a divorce †.

First proposal of a divorce.

While she thus was estranged from her husband, and seemed gratified by the neglect which was stu-

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 69, 70.

† Knox, B. v. p. 396—398. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 196. Keith, B. ii. ch. x. Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 949.

diously shewn to him, the worthless Bothwell formed the scheme of captivating her affections. He strove to recommend himself by every fascinating art; he professed to be actuated by the most devoted loyalty; he soothed and flattered her; and an event soon happened which too plainly shewed that he had not been unsuccessful *. CHAP. XXV. 1566. Insinuating behaviour of Bothwell.

The inhabitants of the borders having resumed their turbulent habits, and being inclined to support the Earl of Morton, the queen resolved to bring them to trial, and to inflict upon them exemplary punishment. For this purpose she intended to hold in person justice-courts in the town of Jedburgh, and, as a previous step, she dispatched Bothwell, who was lord-lieutenant of the district, to reduce to obedience men who daringly violated the laws of the kingdom. In attempting to execute his commission, he was violently assailed and severely wounded †. Queen shews her attachment to him.

She was no sooner informed of this accident, than she manifested the most violent grief, and she took no repose till she went to sympathize with Bothwell in the castle of Hermitage, to which he had been conveyed ‡. Under some circumstances this might have been considered merely as a striking dis- October.

* Camden's Annals, p. 114. Buchanan, as last quoted.

† Knox, p. 399. Buchanan, p. 348. Keith, B. ii. ch. x. p. 351. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 1, 2. MS. Life and Hist. of King James, p. 1.

‡ MS. Hist. and Life of James, as last quoted. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 2, compared with Keith, B. ii. ch. x. p. 351, 352.

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play of royal humanity and condescension towards a man who had suffered in the discharge of his duty; but the character of Bothwell, and the partiality which Mary had previously shewn to him, inclined many to put upon her visit the most unfavourable interpretation *.

Her illness.

Upon her return to Jedburgh, she was, from fatigue, from agitation of mind, or perhaps from accident, seized with a violent illness, which threatened to prove fatal, and, aware of her danger, she prepared for the awful event of dissolution †. The king having been informed of her alarming situation, came to see her, but she received him with the utmost coldness, and he was soon forced, by the most chilling and mortifying neglect, to take his leave ‡.

The king coldly received.

Renewed proposal of a divorce.

After her recovery, she made a tour through the south of Scotland, and she arrived at Craigmiller

* Buchanan, p. 348, compared with Crawford's Memoirs, p. 2, and Keith, p. 352.

† Buch. p. 348. Knox. B. v. p. 399. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 329. Keith, p. 352. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 2. MS. Hist. and Life of James the Sixth, p. 2, 3. I have inserted the account of her illness, which is given by the writer of this work, in the Appendix, No XIV. as a specimen of the book. Mr Laing's publication of it may not fall into the hands of some of my readers.

‡ Buchanan, as above. Knox, p. 399, 400. Spottiswoode, p. 196 Keith, p. 352, expresses a doubt whether the king did, upon this occasion, come to Jedburgh. That he did come seems perfectly certain; it is asserted in the MS. Hist. of James, as well as in the other writers quoted, but, from an expression in a letter of the French ambassador, inserted by Keith in his History, it appears that Darnly did not arrive so soon as Buchanan and Knox represent.

about the end of November. While she remained there, the proposal of a divorce from her husband, which had been before hinted, was formally submitted to her by Secretary Lethington, in presence of the Earls of Murray, Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell. Maitland said, that if she would consent to pardon Morton and those who had fled with him, upon account of Rizzio's death, a divorce might be obtained; but although she shewed no dislike to the measure, expressed not the slightest regret at the prospect of being separated from the king, yet, apprehensive that her own honour and the interest of the young prince would be prejudiced, she requested that the idea of dissolving her marriage might be relinquished *. CHAP. XXV. 1566.

The ambassadors from England and France having arrived, the baptism of the prince took place at Stirling. The Countess of Argyll, by commission from Elizabeth, held up the child at the font, and the Archbishop of St Andrews performed the ceremony, according to the ritual of the Romish church. The Earl of Bedford, the English ambassador, did not, during the service, enter the chapel, and the noblemen who professed the Protestant religion stood without the door. When the solemni-

* Keith, B. ii. ch. v. p. 355. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 196, 197. The account given by this prelate is confirmed and elucidated by the protestation made by the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, respecting the murder of the king, which is inserted in Crawford's Collection of State Papers, Vol. I. p. 84, and in Keith's Appendix. Buchanan, p. 249. His insinuations are most unfavourable to Mary.

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ty was concluded, the prince was proclaimed by his names and titles, Charles James, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew *.

The King not present at the ceremony.

The satisfaction which, upon this event, it was natural to feel, was much weakened by the treatment of the king. He was not allowed to be present at the ceremony,—he was not even admitted to the entertainments by which it was succeeded. This flagrant mark of contempt, for he was in Stirling at the time of the baptism, excited a degree of uneasiness, and melancholy anticipation, which the excuses by which the courtiers attempted to justify it did not remove. It has been said, that the Queen of England had given instructions to her ambassador not to honour Darnly with the title of king, and that his exclusion originated from the desire of Mary, that no such disrespect should be openly shewn to him. But this feeble attempt to ascribe to a praiseworthy motive, what was so obviously wrong, can make no impression upon those who attend to the state of feeling or of disgust towards her husband in which Mary then was. It is apparent, that had the case really been as it has been represented, there was a sufficient reason for insisting that the Earl of Bedford should not be present, but none for the absence of the father of the prince †.

* Spottiswoode, p. 196. MS. Hist. of James, p. 5.

† Camden's Annals. p. 109. Keith, B. ii. ch. x. p. 360. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 7. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 10. Bu-

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The fact, however, seems to be, that Bedford was not enjoined to act in a manner offensive to Darnly, for he was so much shocked with the indecent neglect of the king, that when he was leaving Scotland, he requested Sir James Melvil to intercede with Mary, and to enforce the propriety of conducting herself to her husband as she had done immediately after the marriage, if she had any regard to her own honour, or to the advancement of her affairs *.

He leaves the court.

Indignant at this affront, the Earl of Lennox wrote to his son to leave Stirling, and to come to him at Glasgow. The king accepted the invitation, and having, soon after his departure, or his arrival, been attacked by a disease attended with unusual and alarming symptoms, it was generally reported and believed that he had received poison†.

chanan, p. 319, and Spottiswoode, p. 197, assign other reasons for the king's exclusion, if possible more frivolous and unsatisfactory.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 77

† About the cause of this illness, Buchanan, Knox, Spottiswoode, MS. Hist. of James, give one opinion, ascribing it to poison. Bishop Leslie delivers another, in which he is followed by Holinshed, and to which Keith was plainly disposed to give his assent. Melvil mentions in his Memoirs, that the king fell sick at Glasgow, it being alleged that he had got poison from his servants. Some of the writers just mentioned state, that Darnly was seized soon after he left Stirling, when not above a mile from it; others, that his health was not impaired till he reached Glasgow. This difference of statement does not imply any want of fidelity, as Keith insinuates. Mr Chalmers, in his Caledonia, Vol. II. p. 463, declares, upon the authority of the Earl of Bedford, that the king's illness was the small-pox. Had this been the case, it is difficult to see how there should have been any doubt about the matter.

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1566. While these events were taking place, the queen shewed no intention of prosecuting any regular scheme against the prevailing religion, although, about the end of the year, she was induced, as we shall find, to adopt a measure which gave much offence to the friends of the reformation.

General Assembly. In the General Assembly which met in June, the destitute situation of the ministers chiefly occupied attention. The funds which had been set apart for the payment of their stipends, burdened as they were with defraying the expences of the court, had proved totally inadequate, and Mary, with her council, readily agreed to consider what remedy could be applied. It was at length determined to assign a sum of money and a considerable quantity of grain, for supplying the urgent wants of the December. clergy, and this was carried into execution before the meeting of the assembly in December. To this grant the attention of the ministers was, in that assembly, of course directed. They expressed much gratitude to those lords through whose friendly interposition it had been obtained; but even when returning thanks, they were cautious not to use language which might be considered as implying that they had relinquished the claim to the teinds, upon which they had so often insisted. After thanking the lords, they solemnly protested, that their acceptance of the assignation should not prejudice the liberty of the church to pursue for what justly pertained to its patrimony. What this im-

Views of the preachers respecting tythes.

plied is evident from a subsequent resolution, "that the teinds properly belong to the church, and should be applied solely to the ministers, to the support of the poor, and to upholding seminaries of learning *." 1566.

At this assembly Knox solicited permission to go to England, that he might visit his sons, whom he

Knox permitted to go to England.

* Knox, B. v. p. 401. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 199, 200. Keith, from Register, B. iii. ch. v. p. 563. Buik of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 54, 55. The most ample information respecting the proceedings of the General Assemblies in the early period of the reformation in Scotland, and the state of public opinion which then powerfully influenced these proceedings, is contained in the work last quoted, which is a large folio MS. preserved amongst the records of the church of Scotland, and entitled, "The Buik of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, quhairin the heides and conclusions devysit be the ministers and commissioneris of ye particular kirks theirof are specialllie expressed and conteinit." It is marked on the back, Register of the General Assembly, beginning anno 1560, ending anno 1608. It is evidently copied either from an older MS. bearing the same title, which is now lost, or from the different original records and acts of assembly which were produced to an assembly held at Glasgow 1638. None of these records, however, comprehended the same period with the Buik of the Universal Kirk, or terminated at the same time, which renders it probable that this Buik is a transcript from an original MS., which had been carefully preserved, and is of the most unquestionable authority. Bishop Keith frequently quotes from what he calls the Register, and in a note, to which I have already alluded, he gives a particular, and I suspect, an erroneous account of the manner in which that register was formed. From comparing the two, I am of opinion, either that he had before him the MS. to which I refer, quoting it by the title on the back instead of its real title, or a register nearly the same. I do not recollect to have seen the Buik of the Universall Kirk specified by this name by any writer except Lord Hailes, who regrets that it had not been more carefully consulted. Having been favoured with a perusal of it, I shall adduce it in support of the narration in the text, and give a few extracts from it in the Appendix.

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had sent to be educated in that kingdom, and that he might settle some business in which he was interested. The Assembly granted the request, and

Dec. 27th.

furnished him with a letter, in which they expressed their high sense of his merit, recommending him to the favour of learned men, and of all lovers of the truth *. Although such a testimony may be considered as that of friends who had long held him in veneration, and who viewed him with much partiality, yet it fully warrants the conclusion, that his private character was unexceptionable. They certified, not only that he had been a faithful and successful minister of the gospel, but that in life and conversation he was without blame.

At his desire they also wrote to the bishops of England, whom, as has been before mentioned, they recognized as their brethren, entreating them to shew indulgence to those clergymen who had been persecuted from their declining to use the habits which had been introduced during the establish-

* Life of Knox prefixed to his History, p. 30. Keith, from Register, B. iii. ch. v. p. 564. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 56. The Assembly thus wrote: "Wit zour universities, that our loving brother, Johne Knox, bearer of thir presentis, hes beine, and is ane trew and faithful minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, within ys realme of Scotland, continewallie thir viii zeires bygaine, or yrabout; in doctrine pure and sincere; in lyfe and conversation to our syghte inculpable; and hes sa fruitfullie usit that talent, grantit to him be ye Eternall, to ye advancement of ye glorie of his godlie name, to ye propagatioun of ye kingdom of Jesus Christ, and edefeing of yame yat heard his teaching, that of dewtie we most heartilie praise his Godlie Majestie for yat so gryte ane benefite."

ment of popery. This letter, composed by the eminent reformer himself, displays the vigour and soundness of his understanding. It expo. s, with the utmost force of reasoning, the folly and the inconsistency with the indulgent spirit of Christianity of constraining the consciences and interrupting the labours of men, who had been eminently successful in disseminating the tenets of religion, merely from their entertaining scruples respecting the expediency of continuing what might so naturally be associated with errors abjured by the protestant church, what might be laid aside without, in the slightest degree, affecting the great cause which both parties in this dispute about vestments, were zealous to promote*.

The determination of Knox to leave Scotland for some months, may be considered as a sufficient proof, that he had at this time no apprehensions about the stability of the protestant church. He would not, in what he believed to be a season of danger, have shrunk from his duty; and even if he had been convinced that all his exertions would be useless, he would explicitly have stated this in his request to the Assembly, and not have founded that request upon his desire to gratify parental affection, or to promote his own interest or comfort. Yet

* Knox, B. v. p. 402, 403, has given the letter at full length. Spottiswoode. B. iv. p. 198, 199. Keith from the Register, p. 564, 565. Buik of Universall Kirk, under Assembly held in December 1566.

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1566. The Archbishop of St Andrews invested with his former jurisdiction.

although there was no danger immediately formidable, the Assembly had ground to disapprove of a measure which, at the suggestion of Bothwell, the queen had adopted. She had granted to the Archbishop of St Andrews, who had for some time been restored to her favour, a commission under the great seal, conveying to him power to exercise his former jurisdiction in the probate of wills, in giving collation to benefices, and in various other matters, which had been usually decided in the ecclesiastical courts. This certainly was striking a blow which might have proved fatal to the new establishment, and the clergy would have been deficient in their duty,—would have been sacrificing the glorious objects for which they had so intrepidly and successfully struggled, had they allowed such an exertion of the royal authority to pass without observation. They accordingly addressed a very energetic supplication to the nobility and the lords of the secret council. Yet even in this supplication, marked by the warmest zeal, there is shewn the utmost respect for the queen. They did not, as they frequently had done, insinuate, or affirm, that she was actuated by a desire of altering the state of religion, but they attributed the appointment, of which they complained, entirely to erroneous information. They declared, that the causes judged in the bishops courts, did, for the most part, pertain to the true church; that although they had not objected to the commissions given by the queen to men of their

Remonstrance against this.

own principles, they could not silently acquiesce in the commission to the archbishop, whom they knew to be an enemy to Christ and his truth; because, under pretence of the power with which he was thus vested, he might again usurp his former authority, and take on him the judgment of heresy; in which case none could be ignorant what his judgment would be. They expressed their conviction that this measure, so inconsistent with the laws of the kingdom,—this setting up of antichrist, who had been condemned in open parliament, had arisen from inadvertence or from mistake; and that, if the queen were freely admonished of this, with the reverence which was due from subjects, she would not insist upon the validity of the commission, and would do nothing contrary to justice *.

What answer was returned to this supplication cannot now be discovered; it was probably unfavourable, or evasive. That the assembly did not obtain its object is certain; for the primate, in consequence of his commission, pronounced, soon after this, the sentence of divorce between Bothwell and his wife, in order to prepare the way for that nobleman's unfortunate and criminal marriage with the deluded and infatuated queen †.

* Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 197, 198. Knox, B. v. p. 403. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 41, 42. Crawford's Life of Archbishop Hamilton, in the Vol. of Lives of Statesmen, &c. p. 378. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 60--62.

† Keith, note to p. 566. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 57, 58. Spottiswoode, p. 203. Knox, B. v. p. 405, 406.

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From the whole proceedings of this assembly, which may be considered as affording the most accurate indication of the public mind, it is apparent that the general belief was in favour of the sincerity of Mary's promises respecting religion; and there can be little doubt, that had she now placed her confidence in the Earl of Murray, and acted with the prudence and moderation which she had often shewn, she might have gained the affections of her subjects, and rendered harmless the antipathy or the malice which, she had too much reason to believe, Elizabeth entertained. But the crisis of her fate now rapidly approached. Events soon took place connected with the blackest guilt, in which, by many, she has been supposed to be implicated, and which certainly paved the way for those errors and crimes which marked the concluding period of her residence in Scotland.

Illness of the king. 1567.

Having been informed of the king's illness at Glasgow, she determined to visit him, and, in January, she went to that city. Her husband complained to her of the unkind treatment which he had experienced; she seemed desirous of removing the uneasiness which reflection upon this excited in his mind; former animosities appeared to be buried in oblivion, and they conducted themselves towards each other with that tenderness of attachment which had, at no remote period, been mutually cherished *. At her request he consent-

Apparent renewal of affection.

* Knox, P. v. p. 403, 404. Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 350,

ed to be removed to Edinburgh, and, under pretence of procuring purer air and greater quietness than could be enjoyed in the palace, he was lodged in a solitary house at a small distance from the town. Within a fortnight after his arrival, this house was blown up with gunpowder, and the body of the unhappy youth, unscorched, and without any mark of violence, was found in an adjacent field *.

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1567. She brings him to Edinburgh. He is murdered. 10th Feb.

The loudness of the explosion alarmed the inhabitants. The queen who, though it was very early in the morning, had not retired to rest, dispatched Bothwell to inquire what had happened, but before his arrival, multitudes had assembled. When he perceived that the state of the king's body excited universal amazement and suspicion, he endeavoured, though without success, to convince the people, that the effect, astonishing as it was, might have been produced by the impulse of the powder †.

He soon returned to the palace, and reported to the queen the sad intelligence. It might naturally be supposed that she was filled with the most poig-

Conduct of Mary.

Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 200. Mackenzie's life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 284. Keith, B. ii. ch. x. p. 364.

* See Buchanan, Knox, Spottiswoode, and Keith, as last quoted. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 73. Crawford's Memoirs, p 11. MS. Life and Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 6. I have inserted in the Appendix, the MS. account of this melancholy event.

† Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 200. Buchan. Lib. xviii. p. 352. Knox, B. v. p. 404. MS. Hist of James, p. 6.

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nant grief, aggravated by indignation and horror. She displayed, however, little agitation. She immediately went to bed, and, it has been said, slept with tranquillity; a degree of calmness, or rather of total want of feeling, perfectly irreconcilable with the supposition that she really felt the affection for the king which, when she attended him at Glasgow, she professed to feel *.

Such an incident could not fail to agitate and to alarm the public mind,—to excite the most anxious curiosity about all the circumstances connected with it, particularly about the persons by whom an action so affecting and so atrocious had been perpetrated. Bothwell instantly circulated the report, that it was the work of Murray and of Morton, thus endeavouring to ruin the reputation of the most popular man in the kingdom; a man by whom he himself was held in abhorrence, and who, he knew, would, if not by some means embarrassed or prevented, give the most decided opposition to the schemes which he was eager to carry into execution. There was, however, no tendency in the nation to give credit to the allegation, and Murray may, with the utmost confidence, be acquitted of any share in the crime. The most corrupt do not

* Buchanan, in his work, entitled Detectio Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum, subjoined to his history: Edition by Ruddiman, p. 6. Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Mackenzie, a zealous advocate for Mary, agrees with the two writers as to the queen's retiring to her chamber, but he says that she wept bitterly. Although little reliance can be placed upon his authority, this account is certainly more natural and probable.

commit deeds of shocking iniquity when there is no motive to commit them: a maxim to which Murray must have acted in direct contradiction, if he was the murderer of the king. Darnly had long ceased to enjoy the respect of the people; he could not thwart the designs of Murray, while he might have been rendered instrumental in establishing that nobleman's influence, and in thus preventing any new convulsion in the country. His death, therefore, brought with it no advantage to Murray, while it put it in the power of Mary to connect herself so as to strengthen her authority, and to enable her to restrain or subdue the factions by which she was opposed *.

Bothwell suspected.

The murder had no sooner been published, than it was generally imputed to Bothwell. His total disregard of principle, and his licentious conduct, convinced those who knew him, that he was capable of every enormity; and the events which so rapidly succeeded,—his shameful divorce; his marriage with the queen; the suspicious steps which were taken to establish his innocence, confirmed the opinion of his guilt, at first probably suggested by his personal depravity †.

That Bothwell contrived the murder, and direct-

* Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 352. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 200, compared with Crawford's Memoirs, p. 11. Keith, B. ii. ch. xi. note to p. 365. See also, in proof of Murray's innocence, Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 226.

† Knox, B. v. p. 404. Spottiswoode, p. 200. Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 351. Melvil's Memoirs, p 78. Keith, B. ii p. 365.

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ed those who committed it, it is almost impossible to disbelieve; but the queen did not escape suspicion, her enemies insinuating that she had been made acquainted with the plot, and had waited with the most savage impatience to hear of its having been carried into execution *.

There is something in the imputation so horrible, that, for the honour of human nature, all must wish that it were unfounded. The direct evidence in support of it is necessarily scanty and inconclusive, but it cannot be dissembled that the circumstantial proof excites a degree of suspicion which it is difficult to dismiss from the mind. It belongs not to this history to enter upon an investigation, in itself so unpleasant, and which has been rendered, in a great measure, unnecessary, by the diligence and ingenuity with which, by writers of very different sentiments with regard to the fact at issue, it has been prosecuted; but, whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the innocence or the guilt of Mary as to the death of the king, no apology can justify her subsequent conduct. She could not be ignorant that the murder had been the work of Bothwell, and her consent to marry the murderer evinces a degeneracy of heart which justly forfeit-

Imprudence and criminality of the Queen's subsequent conduct.

Determines to marry Bothwell.

* Buchanan, p. 352. Knox, p. 404, compared with Crawford's Memoirs, p. 11, 12, and Keith, p. 365, 366. Mr Chalmers, a warm partizan of Mary, affirms, Caledonia, Vol. II. p. 655, that Darnly was taken off without the queen's knowledge.

ed the esteem, and excited the horror of almost all her subjects *. CHAP. XXV.

Every method was employed, by the most sincere of her friends, which seemed adapted to prevent this monstrous union. The report of it had not been long circulated, when Lord Herreis, a nobleman of unshaken loyalty, of the greatest respectability and worth, came to Edinburgh; and, after recalling to the queen's memory the suspicions which were entertained against Bothwell, as the assassin of the king, he, upon his knees, implored her to remember her honour and dignity, and the safety of the prince, all of which would be endangered, if she married a man so deservedly loaded with infamy. This salutary counsel, obviously founded upon the plainest maxims of virtue and sound policy, he perceived to be disagreeable, and, apprehensive of the rage of Bothwell, to whom he had no doubt that his interference would be reported, he lost no time in returning to the country, attended by a guard sufficient to protect him from any attack which, through anger or revenge, might be directed against him †. 1567.

* Upon this subject the reader may consult Buchanan, Lib. xviii. Knox, B. v. Spottiswoode, B. iv. Bishop Leslie's Defence of Mary. The Writers collected by Jebb. Memoirs of Melvil and Crawford. MS. Hist. of James. Hume. Whitaker. Goodal. Robertson's History of Scotland, with his Dissertation subjoined. Gilbert Stuart's Hist of Queen Mary. Anderson's Collections. Laing's Dissertation, and the other historians of that period.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 78. Knox, B. v. p. 404.

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1567. Disregards every remonstrance.

Mary's English supporters were equally amazed and disgusted at the prospect of the marriage. One of them wrote upon the subject to Scotland, requesting that his letter might be shewn to the queen. In this letter, after asserting that Bothwell had murdered the king, and that he was a man disgraced by every vice, the writer affirmed, that she would, by marrying him, lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all England, Ireland, and Scotland. This letter Mary read without making any observations upon what it contained; but she afterwards affected to consider it as a device of Sir James Melvil, by whom it had been presented, to ruin Bothwell; and her conversation produced such an effect upon Lethington, to whom she mentioned the suspicion, that he earnestly advised Melvil, if he put any value upon his life, to leave the court *.

All these circumstances sufficiently shew, that Mary's resolution not only was fixed, but had been deliberately formed. She had given her affections to Bothwell, and, regardless of public opinion,—regardless of the infamy resulting from a matrimonial alliance with a man who had previously to procure a divorce from his wife, whom he had lately married,—a divorce which, in the spiritual court indeed, proceeded upon the convenient plea of consanguinity, but, in the temporal, was founded upon the li-

* Melvil, p. 79.

centiousness and depravity of his conduct,—regardless of the happiness of her kingdom, she had early decided upon the fatal step which she was so soon to take *. CHAP. XXV. 1567.

If this was the case, the excuses which have been urged in extenuation of her folly or her criminality have no force. In whatever manner the representation in favour of the marriage with Bothwell, which many of the nobility subscribed, was obtained, it should have been treated by her with the contempt and disdain which, in every elevated and well constituted mind, it would most justly have excited †.

The pretended violence offered to her person, by seizing her at Almond-bridge, with a party of armed men, would have been ineffectual, had she resolutely opposed it, or should have determined her to punish, not to espouse the subject who had dared to offer to his sovereign so scandalous an outrage. There can, however, be little doubt, that the scheme had been concerted between Bothwell and herself. This was affirmed by some of those who assisted in carrying it into execution, and the declarations which she almost immediately after made, that she was not detained contrary to her inclinations, render it almost impossible to hesitate with respect to her in-

* Spottiswoode, b. ii. p. 202.

† Knox, B. v. p. 405. Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 355. Camden's Annals, p. 115. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 80. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 15, 16. Keith, p. 380, 381, has inserted, from the Cotton Library, the deed signed by the nobles. It may be also seen in Vol. II. of Crawford's Collection.

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tentions *. Had she felt no predilection for Bothwell, or had he of himself committed an atrocity so inconsistent with his duty that it is difficult to conceive that it would, even to him, have suggested itself, the feelings of a woman, and of a queen, would have led her to regard him with detestation,—to inflict on him the signal punishment which he so justly merited.

April 9th. The Earl of Murray, firmly persuaded of her determination, and convinced that the marriage would give rise to numberless calamities, solicited permission to leave the kingdom, and took up his residence in France †. His opinion coincided with that of the great part of the people. Notwithstanding all the apologies which could be devised, they considered the match as acceptable to the queen, and they looked forward to it with the strongest emotions of sorrow and indignation.

Universal horror and indignation.

Every attempt of Mary to reconcile her subjects to the marriage, and to regain their esteem, completely failed. Although, in a parliament which

April 14th. was held a few days after the acquittal of Bothwell, she consented to an act for settling the new reli-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 80. He expressly says, that Captain Blackater, who had taken him, assured him that it was with the queen's own consent that the attack upon her was made. Spottiswoode, p. 202. Keith, B. ii. xi.

† Keith, p. 324. MS. Hist. of James, p. 7, 8. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 80. Knox and Spottiswoode have written as if Murray did not go to France till after the marriage with Bothwell; but this is obviously a mistake.

gion,—an act nearly similar to that which passed in the memorable parliament held in the subsequent December,—their murmurings daily increased, and they expressed their dissatisfaction in a manner which could not fail to shew her what was the real state of their sentiments *. 1567.

While she remained at Dunbar, the suit of divorce between Bothwell and his wife was prosecuted with the utmost dispatch; and when the marriage was declared void, the queen came to the castle of Edinburgh. She there signed an order for the publication of the banns between her and that profligate nobleman, and the order was carried to Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He referred it to the session in which he presided; and it was resolved, that intimation of the sovereign's intention should be publickly made upon the three next days of preaching. Craig felt the utmost abhorrence of a marriage which he conceived, and justly conceived, to be as contrary to the law of God as it was to sound policy. He agreed, however, to obey the injunction of publishing the banns, reserving to himself liberty to express what he thought. He accordingly declared, in the presence of his congregation, that he held the marriage of the queen

Banns published.

Intrepidity of Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

* Keith, B. ii. ch. xi. p. 379. Spottiswoode, p. 202, erroneously states, that nothing could be obtained from this parliament favourable to the protestant religion. See Murray's Collec. of Acts of Par. p. 191, and some singular, though, in my estimation, erroneous opinions, respecting this act, in Caledonia, Vol. II. p. 656, 657.

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and Bothwell to be unlawful; that he was ready to state his reasons to the parties, if they would consent to listen to them, and that if this was declined, he would either give over intimating the banns, or he would point out the ground upon which he condemned them.

Being that afternoon summoned to the council, Bothwell commanded him to shew why he was averse to the match. Unawed by the presence and the power of this dissolute favourite, he without hesitation answered, that the last General Assembly had prohibited the marriage of persons divorced for adultery; that he considered the divorce which had been procured as collusive; and he concluded by laying to his charge the violence done to the queen, reminding him of the suspicions with regard to the king's murder, which the projected marriage would confirm. For these reasons, he most seriously admonished him to relinquish all thoughts of this connexion, if he wished to avoid the wrath of Almighty God. Craig also requested the lords who were present, to advertise the queen of the infamy and dishonour which would result from the marriage, and to use the most effectual means to dissuade her from it.

On the Sunday following, he repeated in church what he had said to the council, and after mentioning his conviction that no regard would be paid to his representations, he added, that, for himself, he had already liberated his conscience, but he would

yet again take heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested that marriage as scandalous and hateful in the sight of the world; but seeing the great ones, as he perceived, did approve it, either by their flattery or their silence, he would beseech the faithful to pray fervently unto God, that he might be pleased to turn that which they intended against law, reason, and good conscience, to the comfort and benefit of the church and the realm*.

The conduct of Craig was certainly marked by an intrepidity which, displayed as it was, in the cause of virtue, is entitled to the highest reverence. He would have been deficient in his duty as the teacher of a pure religion, had he tamely announced what was so flagrant a violation of morality; and the firmness with which he admonished Bothwell, that disregard which he shewed to his own safety, at a time when the great men of the kingdom who entertained the same sentiments had meanly subscribed an address to the queen, in favour of the marriage, exhibits him in the most favourable light as the strenuous advocate for the best interests of his country,—as eager to secure that public happiness, that private correctness of manners, which it was apparent would be endangered or destroyed if the

* Spottiswoode. B. iv. p. 203. Anderson's Collections, Vol. II. Buik of the Universall Kirk. It appears from this last work, that to an assembly which met at Edinburgh, in December of this year, Craig gave an explanation and defence of his conduct with respect to the proclamation. As it is a very curious paper, I have inserted it in the Appendix. See Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 85—87.

CHAP. XXVI. most sacred moral obligations were, without reprehension, to be openly set at defiance *.

1567. But although Bothwell was highly exasperated at Craig, it was found prudent not to proceed to extreme measures against him. It was known that he had delivered the almost unanimous opinion of the nation, and that any severity of punishment might have kindled resentment from which the most alarming tumults would probably have arisen.

May 12th. The banns having been published, the unfortunate queen omitting nothing to complete her degradation, came forward to evince publickly her concurrence in this connexion. In the presence of the Court of Session, she solemnly intimated that she forgave Bothwell and his accomplices for imprisoning her, that she was now at perfect liberty, that she recollected with gratitude the meritorious services of that nobleman, and that she intended to express her high sense of them by advancing him to greater honours †.

She lost no time in fulfilling the purpose which she announced. She created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Zetland, and in a few days after, she was, agreeably to the manner of the reformed church,

* Keith, in speaking of this manly and noble opposition, says, in a note to p. 384 of his History, "an account of this whole demur may be found," &c. language which nothing but the strong ecclesiastical prejudices of that laborious writer could have led him to employ.

† Crawford's Collection of Papers relating to Scotland, Vol. I. p. 40. Keith, p. 445. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 10.

upon men who have not surrendered themselves to that licentiousness which not only debases the mind, but eradicates or corrupts the best feelings of the heart.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIXTH.

Dissatisfaction of the nobility....Queen endeavours to counteract it....The discontented Lords form a bond of association....Critical situation in which they were placed ....Injudicious conduct of Mary....She delivers herself into the hands of the Lords....Indignity with which she was treated....They resolve to confine her in the Castle of Lochleven....Remarks....She is confined....Examination of the conduct of the Lords....They send a deputation to some of the Nobility at Hamilton....Unite with the General Assembly....Violent conduct of the Earl of Glencairn....Remissness in the attempts to seize Bothwell....His fate.

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Dissatisfaction of the nobility.

The nobility were roused to resistance by the exaltation of a man whom they believed to be the murderer of the king. They justly dreaded, that under his government, no act would be considered as too flagitious, that his private antipathies would now be avenged, and that innumerable calamities awaited the country. In the firmness of the queen they could place no reliance. She had shewn that she could be induced to approve what was most deserving of condemnation, and they accordingly thought it necessary to take decisive steps for vindicating their own privileges, or for preserving their security.

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This agitation of the public mind could not fail to alarm Mary. She endeavoured to remove or to counteract it by publishing a proclamation upon the subject of religion, in which she confirmed her original declaration in favour of the protestant faith, ascribed to this declaration the peace which the kingdom had enjoyed for some time after her arrival, and revoked all the permissions which she had granted to individuals to exercise the rites of the Catholic church *.

Queen endeavours to counteract it. May 23d.

Even this, however, was not sufficient to extinguish the suspicions and the murmurings of her subjects. They watched with the utmost anxiety the measures of the court, and they soon became convinced that Bothwell was eager to get the young prince into his possession. He had indeed used no precaution to conceal his design. He importuned the Earl of Marr, who was the guardian of the child, to deliver him up; and, in an unguarded moment, he had not hesitated to insinuate amongst his friends, that he would effectually prevent him from revenging the death of his father †.

The apprehension that some attempt would be made upon the life of James, probably began to be entertained immediately after the advancement of Bothwell, and very powerfully contributed to form that determined spirit of opposition to the queen, which

* Knox, B. v. p. 407. Buchan. Lib. xviii. p. 357. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 203. Keith, B. iii. ch. vi. p. 571, 572.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 80, 81.

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she in vain endeavoured to eradicate. To conciliate the most powerful of the nobility, or to prevent them from making any attempts against government, she included amongst the number of her privy-counsellors the most eminent of the faction whose machinations she dreaded; but this honour did not produce upon their minds the intended effect. Most of them studiously pursued the line of conduct which they had previously determined to follow, and which alone, they were persuaded, could ensure the protection of the prince, and preserve the country *.

May.

To remove the unfavourable impressions which the queen's marriage with Bothwell could not fail to make upon foreign princes, the bishop of Dunblane was dispatched to the court of France, with injunctions to state the reasons which had determined her to take this step, and soon after an ambassador was for the same purpose sent to Elizabeth †.

The opposition of Mary's subjects soon assumed a form which was contemplated by her and Bothwell with the strongest apprehension. The Earl of Atholl, who, after the murder of the king, had in discontent and indignation retired to his own estate, thought that a favourable opportunity was now presented for avenging the death of Darnly. He accordingly went to Stirling, where, in conjunction

* Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 22.

† Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 357. Knox, B. v. p. 406. Holinshed Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 330. Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 387.

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with the Earls of Argyll, Morton, Marr, Glencairn, the Lords Lindsay and Boyd, he subscribed a bond, in which they who framed it bound themselves to protect the young prince, and to prevent him from falling into the hands of Bothwell *.

Discontented nobles form a bond of association.

This nobleman, sensible that he was regarded with detestation, and dreading that violent measures against him might be adopted, advised the queen to assemble a considerable force, under pretence of reducing to order the inhabitants of the bordering counties. She accordingly issued a proclamation charging her faithful people to attend her. The opposite faction immediately circulated their suspicions that this army was intended to seize the prince, and Mary found it necessary to refute, in a manifesto, insinuations or assertions so well adapted to alarm the fears, and to agitate the passions of the people†. Her professions, however, were now little credited, and the associated lords collected all the forces which they could assemble, that they might be prepared for every emergency. Having failed in a daring attempt to get into their power the queen and her husband, whom they believed to be at the castle of Borthwick, and who had, in consequence of secret information, escaped only a short time before the attempt was made, the lords went to Edin-

June 14.

* Knox, B. v. p. 406. Spottiswoode, p. 204. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. v. p. 196. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 20.

† Knox, B. v. p. 407. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 204, 207. Keith, B. ii. ch. ch. xii. p. 396, 397.

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burgh, knowing that they would be supported by the populace, and that they would be strengthened by the influence of the preachers, while they had nothing to fear from the governor of the castle, who had been induced to forsake the cause of Bothwell, his former patron *.

June 12th.

In that city they issued a proclamation, in which they declared, "That the Earl of Bothwell, having put violent hands on the queen's person, confined her in the castle of Dunbar, and retained her in his power, had seduced her, being destitute of all counsel, to an unlawful marriage with himself, who was known to be the principal author, adviser and actor in the cruel murder committed upon the late king's person; and that he was daily gathering forces, and strengthening himself by all means, on purpose, as it appeared, that he might get into his hands the young prince, that he might murder him as he had done his father, which the nobility of the realm had resolved to withstand, and to deliver the queen out of his bondage: Therefore they charged all and sundry the lieges within the kingdom, to be in readiness upon three hours warning, to assist the said noblemen in delivering the queen from captivity, and bringing the said earl and accomplices to trial and punishment †."

* Knox, p. 407. Spottiswoode, p. 205. MS. History and Life of James the Sixth, p. 10, 11. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 24, 25. Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 398. Buchanan, Lib. dec. oct. p. 361.

† Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 205. Knox, B. v. p. 407. Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 399. Crawford, in his Memoirs, p. 24, has inserted in th

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Notwithstanding this proclamation, containing so strong an appeal to the people, the associated lords were involved in the utmost perplexity. They had been forsaken by Argyll and Boyd; several of the nobility disapproved of proceeding to such extremities as had been proposed; many of them stood neutral; the great body of the community gradually cooled in their resentment at the marriage; and there was a scarcity of ammunition, and of the other essential requisites for carrying on a campaign. Overcome by these obstacles, the faction hostile to the court had resolved to disband their forces, and to relinquish, at least for some time, the scheme which they had formed *.

1567. Critical situation in which they were placed.

Had the queen remained in Dunbar only a few days longer, she would have seen all the opposition which she dreaded suspended or annihilated, and she would have enjoyed many advantages for preventing the disaffected from again uniting †. The reins of government would have been committed to Both-

Injudicious conduct of Mary.

proclamation, "for these ends, and to procure to themselves and to their posterity, such laws and conditions as should appear indispensably necessary for the safety of the subject, and the establishment and security of the protestant religion, they charged," &c. This addition is in perfect harmony with the principles of those to whom it is ascribed, but Crawford does not mention upon what authority it rests, and I have not discovered from what quarter he derived his information.

* Buch. Lib. dec. oct. p. 362. Knox, B. v. p. 407, 408. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 205.

† Buchanan, as last quoted. Knox, p. 408. Keith, p. 400. In the MS. Hist. of James, it is said that she desperately left Dunbar, p. 12.

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1567. well, who, possessed as he certainly long was, of much influence, and of great power of insinuation, would probably soon have succeeded in strengthening his party, so as to be able gradually to undermine the liberty and the religion of his country. But his impetuosity cast away an opportunity which could never be recalled. Accompanied by the

June 14th. queen, he marched from Dunbar at the head of troops considerable in number, but far from being zealous in the cause in which they were engaged; and having passed a night at Seaton, he encamped

June 15th. next day upon Carbery Hill *.

At Gladsmuir a proclamation had been read to the royal army, stating the grounds upon which the queen had assembled them, accusing the opposite faction of rebellion, asserting the innocence of Bothwell, denying that she had been constrained to marry him, and animating her adherents to defend her cause, by promising to share amongst them, according to their deserts, the property of the rebels †.

The associated lords having received notice of the march of the queen and her army, left Edinburgh with a formidable force, and having reached the

* Buchan. Lib. xviii. p. 362. Knox, B. v. p. 194. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 206. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 12. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 12. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 27. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 336.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 400. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 27, 28. This writer says, in opposition to other historians, that the proclamation was read to the queen's army at Carbery.

neighbourhood of Carbery, prepared for battle. Finding it difficult to attack in front the strong position of the royal camp, they made a circuit round the hill, which inspired Mary with the momentary hope that they had been struck with a panic *. She soon, however, perceived her mistake, and it being now evident that they had determined to have recourse to the sword, Le Croc, the French ambassador, wisely and humanely interposed his mediation. He earnestly laboured to prevent bloodshed, assuring the lords that the queen was disposed for peace, and would, upon their submission, pardon their insurrection. This, however, was not the wish of the confederates. They dreaded, that so long as she remained under the influence of Bothwell, it was vain to hope for permanent tranquillity; and the Earl of Morton, who had been himself accessory to the death of Darnly, or had listened without moral disapprobation to the proposal, and who might surely have felt some remorse while he used the high language which he employed, declared to Le Croc, in name of the nobles, "that they had taken arms not against the queen, but against the murderer of the king; that if she would deliver him to justice, or banish him from her presence, she would find that they had no other wish than to continue in their dutiful obedience to her; that except upon these conditions peace could not be made; and that they did not solicit pardon for any offence which

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* Buch. p. 362, 363.

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they had committed, but rather were ready to give pardon to those who had offended." The ambassador at once perceived, that in the temper which this declaration indicated, there could be no accommodation; he probably reported the speech to the queen, and immediately departed for Edinburgh *.

Mary soon discerned how little reliance she could place upon the fidelity or the courage of her followers. Bothwell and his immediate adherents were eager for engaging, but the great part of the army shewed the utmost reluctance, and many of them even left the field †.

She delivers herself to the Lords.

In this distressing situation, the queen resolved to deliver herself to the lords: and Bothwell having fled to Dunbar, either at her solicitation, or in consequence of the command of Kirkaldy, the laird of Grange, she gave her hand to this gentleman, declaring, that upon the conditions which he had been instructed by his party to propose to her, the same which had been stated to Le Croc by the Earl of Morton, she would refrain from shedding the blood of her subjects, would yield herself unto

* Knox, B. v. p. 409. Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 363. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 206, 207. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 29. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 337. This writer mentions that Glencairn added the last words of the answer to Le Croc. That it did not become Morton to affect such zeal to punish the murderer of the king, is evident from his confession, published by Crawford, at the end of his Memoirs, and also printed with Richard Bannatyne's Journal, at Edinburgh, 1806.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 82. Spottiswoode, p. 207. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 29.

unto the nobles, and be ruled hereafter by their counsel. She concluding by saying, that she trusted that they would respect her as their queen *. 1567.

This step was the worst which the unhappy princess could have taken. She might probably have made her escape with the same facility as Bothwell, and had she reached in safety the castle of Dunbar, she might have patiently waited in expectation of those dissensions which would soon have enfeebled the efforts directed against her. At this very moment there was a large and a powerful part of the nobility who disapproved the violence of the associators, who would have beheld with regret their acquisition of power, and who would have readily, as they afterwards did, have declared themselves the supporters of their sovereign. But she was left destitute of every friend who could with prudence direct her conduct; her spirit was overwhelmed; and she perhaps trusted in those general insincere professions of loyalty to which she had credulously listened †.

Indignity with which she was treated.

Her dreadful sufferings now commenced. She was conducted to Edinburgh, surrounded by a multitude, who loaded her with the vilest abuse; she heard innumerable prayers that punishment might be inflicted on her; and the agonizing feel-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 83. Knox, p. 409. Buchanan, p. 363. Anderson's Collections, Vol. IV. p. 89. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 30.

† MS. Hist. of James, p. 13. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 32. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 83. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 357. Buchanan, p. 364.

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1567.

June 16th.

ings which thus were excited, were not soothed by the cold and stately respect of those lords by whom she was attended. In the bitterness of sorrow, with anguish impressed on her fascinating countenance, in a dress little suited to the dignity and magnificence of a sovereign, she entered the capital of her kingdom *. She was confined for the night in the house of the chief magistrate, and she awoke in the morning to new mortifications. Upon opening her window, she saw a banner, upon which her late husband was painted lying dead, under a tree, and the young prince was delineated as kneeling by the body, while he uttered this prayer, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord †."

The lords were now placed in a most delicate and trying situation. They had solemnly promised to the queen, that if she renounced Bothwell, they would act towards her as loyal and obedient subjects. This she had done, but they were determined not to fulfil their promise. They dreaded that, if she regained her power, she might ultimately direct it with success against themselves, and that they might thus expiate with their estates or their lives, the daring outrage of which they had been guilty ‡. They therefore adopted the resolu-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 83, 84. Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 364. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 32, 33. Keith, p. 402.

† Melvil. Crawford. Keith, as last quoted. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 13. Buchanan, p. 364. Martyr. de Marie Stuart, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 219.

‡ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 84.

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tion of confining her in a solitary castle, situated upon a small island in Lochleven; and, as an ostensible reason for violating the pledge which they had given to her, they asserted, that on the night of her coming to Edinburgh, she had written to Bothwell, assuring him that she would never abandon him, thus breaking the condition upon which alone she was to be recognized as their sovereign *.

1567. Lords resolve to confine her in the castle of Lochleven.

It is of little importance whether such a letter was really written. If Mary was attached to Bothwell, as, notwithstanding his harsh and ungenerous treatment, she undoubtedly was, nothing could be more natural than to condole with him upon the calamitous situation to which they had been reduced. Her declaration, that she would not forsake him, need not have inspired the slightest apprehension, because she was in the custody of the associated nobles, and it depended upon themselves whether her unworthy husband could again be admitted into her presence. Granting, then, the authenticity of the letter, which has been, not without reason, doubted, it must be allowed, that the resolution to imprison the queen rested upon quite a different ground. If this resolution was unwarrantable upon the supposition of there being no letter, it does not receive, from the existence of the letter, any justification

Remarks.

The unfortunate Mary was conducted, on the

* Melvil, p. 84. Keith, B. ii. ch. xi. p. 403. L'Innocence de la Reyne d'Escosse, apud Jebb, Vol. I. p. 489

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second night after her surrender, to the palace of Holyroodhouse. The people, with the levity so natural to them, had changed their sentiments, and had begun to express much commiseration for the sufferings of their sovereign. This alarmed the lords, who, dreading that some attempt might be made to rescue her, removed her to the palace under the hypocritical pretence of shewing her the honour which was due to her exalted rank, but in fact that they might effectually guard her; and accordingly, early in the morning, she was sent to Lochleven castle, attended by the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay *. She experienced there the utmost severity of confinement; was divested of the splendour of a queen, and denied those delicate attentions which, under her present melancholy circumstances, she so much required †.

June 17th. She is confined.

Before tracing the events which succeeded this traitorous conduct to the sovereign, and the effects which were produced by it upon the state of religion, it is proper to examine how far the lords were justified in having recourse to it.

Examination of the conduct of the lords.

* MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 13, 14. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 33, 34. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 291. Martyr. de Marie Stuart, by Blackwood, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 219, 220. Spottiswoode and Knox erroneously mention, that she was sent to the castle the day after her arrival in Edinburgh. Buch. p. 361.

† Blackwood and Mackenzie, as last quoted. MS. Hist. of James, p. 15. Camden's Annals, p. 117. Leslie's Defence of Mary, quoted by Keith, in a note to p. 401 of his History.

That the good of the people is the great end of government, is incontrovertible; and it is no less certainly true, that if this end be permanently defeated by the executive power, that power may be suspended or destroyed. Upon neither of these principles, however, is it possible to justify the manner in which the queen of Scotland was deprived of her liberty, and eventually of her crown. Whatever might have been her secret intentions with regard to the political and religious freedom of her subjects, she had made upon it, at this time, no direct attack; she had even confirmed her former declarations in favour of the new establishment, and no individual had cause to complain that his property was invaded, or the security of his person endangered. She had indeed chosen, as her husband, a man blackened by infamy, and loaded with the suspicion of having murdered the king; she had been guilty of much imprudence, and perhaps was not free from crime; but, however important the personal virtue of a sovereign must at all times be to the morals of his kingdom, it does not seem obvious, that, for deficiency in this respect, he is amenable at the tribunal of his subjects, or that they have any right, upon such a ground, to drive him from his throne. If Bothwell was the murderer of Darnly, he had nevertheless been acquitted by a jury, composed of the very men who were now calling loudly for justice—had been even warmly recommended to Mary as wor-

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thy of receiving the honour of her hand; if the trial had been unfair, and the recommendation, through terror, extorted—if it was deemed essential for the preservation or the energy of criminal law, that the accusation should be renewed, and the real sentiments of the nobility expressed, all this might have been done in parliament; but none of these circumstances authorized any combination against the queen *.

As there was thus no sufficient constitutional ground for considering the virtual compact between the sovereign and the people as broken, so the people did not complain of injury. They followed, it is true, the sentiments of popular leaders, but they stated no grievances which the government, as it was then constituted, could not have redressed; and they soon viewed, with the deepest emotions of compassion, the sorrows and misfortunes of a princess whom they had so lately beheld with admiration.

The lords who made her a prisoner had no public character. They were not employed to speak the sentiments of the community, and had made no legal efforts to rectify the errors of their sovereign, or to put additional limits to her prerogative.

* The bond acquitting Bothwell of the murder and recommending him as the husband of Mary, may be seen in Crawford's Collection of Papers, from the Cotton Library, Vol. II. p. 47. It was dated 19th April 1567. Murray is by mistake mentioned as having signed Morton, Argyll, and Glencairn, certainly did.

As individuals, they had assumed the reins of power, and, from their private conviction of the necessity of the case, had committed to prison, without a trial—without even the appearance of a judicial proof of criminality, the queen to whom they had sworn allegiance. Happy, then, as were the effects of their decisive measures, these measures were, upon all the principles of good government, indefensible. 1567.

Such principles were not, in fact, at that period thoroughly understood. Although the inhabitants of Scotland had, chiefly from the progress of the reformation, been much enlightened with respect to the nature of government, the aristocratical violence of feudal times still occasionally burst forth. Had the combination of nobles, by whom Mary had been sent to Lochleven, taken place before the dissemination of the political tenets connected with the protestant faith, there can be little doubt that no attention would have been shewn to the liberties of the subject. There would have been only the conveyance of power from one prince to another, under whom the noblemen, who effectuated the revolution, would have been promoted or vested with authority.

From the moment that the lords imprisoned Mary, they must have determined, either by entreaties or by force, to wrest from her the sceptre*.

* This may be gathered from some expressions of Sir James Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 84, 85; and it is positively asserted in the MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 4.

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They could not fail to perceive, that, after the steps which they had taken, she must have at all times regarded them with abhorrence, and that, if she did regain her power, she would, without hesitation, sacrifice them to her resentment. Of their real designs, the interesting correspondence of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, who was soon after this sent by Elizabeth into Scotland, leaves no doubt *.

It was not, however, yet time to make an open avowal of their intentions. Accordingly, on the day before they conveyed the queen to Lochleven, June 16th. they subscribed a bond, in which they declared, "that their great design in taking arms was to avenge the murder of the king; to dissolve the marriage with Bothwell, and to secure the person of the prince." In the usual strain of hypocrisy which disgraces political manifestoes, they affected to feel the utmost anxiety to deliver Mary from the hands of her husband, although she was at that very moment in their own, and scrupled not to say, that in the fear of God, and in the lawful obedience of their sovereign, they had taken arms to accomplish these important purposes †.

They send a deputation to some of the nobility at Hamilton.

They had some reason to apprehend that their conduct would not be approved by several of the most considerable of the nobility. A number of

* See a very striking letter of Throkmorton to Elizabeth, dated 19th July 1567, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 37—44. It is also given by Keith.

† Keith has inserted this bond from the Register of the Privy-Council, in B. ii. ch. xii. of his History, p. 404—406.

powerful nobles, suspected of being rather disposed to espouse the cause of the queen, had assembled at Hamilton; and when Morton and his adherents sent to solicit their concurrence in what had been done, the messeng r was not admitted even to announce his commission *.

Unite with the General Assembly.

This induced the lords cordially to unite with the church, that, through its assistance, they might obtain the support of the great body of the people. They found the protestant teachers disposed to coalesce with them. These rigid men had contemplated, with much and just abhorrence, the late conduct of the queen; they had earnestly declaimed against the marriage; and had described, in strong language, the dangers which threatened the kingdom and the new ecclesiastical establishment, under the reign of a princess whose faith and conduct they so vehemently condemned †. Their religious and political principles thus powerfully inclined them to promote the designs of her enemies, to seek security for the faith to which they were attached, in her deposition, or even in measures still more severe. It was probably to gratify their zeal, to convince the people that anxiety for the purity of religion, no less than for the deliverance of the kingdom from oppression, had produced

* Knox, B. v. p. 410. Buchan. Lib. xviii. p 365. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 208. Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 407.

† Throkmorton's letter to Elizabeth, dated 19th July, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 40, and Keith, p. 423.

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1567 Violent conduct of the Earl of Glencairn.

the opposition which had been made to the queen, that the Earl of Glencairn, a few days after her imprisonment, committed an outrage admitting of no justification. Accompanied by his own domestics, he went to the palace, and having entered her majesty's chapel, he demolished the altar, tore the pictures which embellished it, and defaced the ornaments with which it had been beautified *. This indecent outrage gratified the violent protestants, because it removed what they had uniformly contemplated with abhorrence; but it was condemned by the prudent or the moderate, and was little calculated to promote that union which, in the distracted and perilous state of the kingdom, every patriot should have been eager to secure †.

In conformity with the tenor of the bond into which they had entered, several persons were apprehended by the faction, upon suspicion of having been accessory to the king's murder, and some of them were put to death ‡. It is remarkable, however, that notwithstanding the detestation expressed at Bothwell, and the conviction that he was the principal actor in the crime, there was much remissness in the attempts to secure his person. Far

Remissness in the attempt to seize Bothwell.

* Knox, B. v. p. 410. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 208. Keith, p. 407.

† Knox. Spottiswoode. Keith, as last quoted. Knox says, it highly offended those who were popishly affected, plainly meaning moderate protestants.

‡ MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 15, 16. Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 407.

from seeking to apprehend him immediately after his flight from Carbery, ten days elapsed before even a proclamation offering a reward for bringing him to Edinburgh, was issued *. This gives much probability to the suspicion which has been entertained, that the lords really wished him to make his escape. He might have disclosed transactions which they did not wish to bring forward to public observation, and which would have placed the Earl of Morton in a situation not to be envied †. Bothwell certainly eluded the pursuit of his enemies. He fled to Orkney, but being followed by Kirkaldy of Grange, he left that country and went to Denmark, where he was cast into prison. He languished for ten years amidst much suffering, and under the horrors of mental derangement; and he at length died in the lowest state of misery ‡.

1567. June 26th.

His fate.

* Crawford's Memoirs, p. 44. Keith, p. 408.

† Keith, as last quoted. Crawford, p. 46. Spottiswoode, p. 222. Camden's Annals, p. 117.

‡ Buchan. Lib. dec. nonus, p. 367. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 84, 85. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 213 and 243. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 19, 20.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVENTH.

The General Assembly labours to promote union, and to secure the Reformation....Elizabeth remonstrates against the imprisonment of Mary....French ambassadors.... Lords at Hamilton refuse to unite with the associated lords....This determines these lords to make every concession to the protestant church....They resolve to deprive Mary of the crown....She subscribes a deed of resignation....Deliberations of the assembly....Articles presented by it....The lords assent to them....Revolution to crown the prince....Sir James Melvil sent to the lords at Hamilton....Little anxiety felt to obtain their support....Their opposition not formidable....Coronation.... The Earl of Murray solicited to accept the regency.... His arrival in Scotland....Representations to him respecting the Queen....His harshness to her....He accepts the regency....Oath which he took....Remarks upon it.... His wise administration....Parliament....Acts relating to the church....Establishment of the reformation in Scotland....Concluding observations.

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1567. General Assembly labours to promote union, and to secure the reformation. June 25th.

THE associated lords having failed in their attempt to obtain the sanction of the noblemen at Hamilton, applied to the General Assembly which had met at Edinburgh. In the moderator, the celebrated Buchanan, who was at that time principal of St Leonard's college in St Andrews, they had one of their most zealous and able friends. The assembly, professing the utmost anxiety to unite all clas-

ses of men in the design of improving the circumstances of the country to the stability and efficacy of the protestant church, agreed to send commissioners to Hamilton, and to write letters to those of the nobility who had remained neutral. After appointing Knox, Craig, Douglas, and Rew, as the commissioners, they instructed them to request, that the lords at Hamilton would consent to meet with the associated lords in Edinburgh, for settling God's true worship in the church; for strengthening the ecclesiastical policy; providing for the maintenance of the preachers, and the relief of the poor. Letters were at the same time addressed to the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Caithness, and several other noblemen, enforcing the representations to be made by the commissioners. The assembly then adjourned for a few weeks, probably to wait the result of their interference *.

July 20th. Elizabeth remonstrates against the imprisonment of Mary.

The imprisonment of Mary made a deep impression upon neighbouring sovereigns. Elizabeth was no sooner informed of it, than she dispatched Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Scotland to condole with the queen; to remonstrate with the nobility against so flagrant a violation of their duty; to procure her liberation, and to restore harmony between her and her subjects †.

* Knox, B. v. p. 410. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 208, 209. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 42. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 64—68. Keith, p. 572.

† Two papers of instructions were given to Throkmorton, the one relating to what he was to state to the queen, the other directing his

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In the wish to rescue Mary from the confinement to which she had been subjected, Elizabeth was probably sincere. Although she had been much offended by many parts of the queen of Scotland's conduct, and took the opportunity of her ambassador going to wait upon that princess, to reprove her with a severity little calculated to lead to reformation or repentance; although she would perhaps have felt little for Mary herself, yet the precedent was in the highest degree alarming; and, jealous as she was of the rights of monarchs, she must have dreaded, that if she overlooked or sanctioned what the lords had done, it might give rise in all kingdoms to ebullitions of aristocratical or popular zeal, from which she shrunk with horror.

Upon his arrival, Throkmorton found that the object of his embassy could not be accomplished. The lords had formed their determination, and, notwithstanding the respect which they had uniformly professed for Elizabeth, they not only gave to her ambassador the most evasive answers to all his proposals, but they positively refused to allow his admission into the royal presence.*

conduct as to the nobles. Both were dated 30th June 1567, and are copied from the Cotton Library, Caligula, I. 1. by Crawford, Vol. III. of his Collections, p. 20–28. Certain terms of accommodation between the queen and her subjects were also given to him. See Crawford, Vol. III. p. 28—30. These were dated in July.

* Answer of the lords to Throkmorton, dated 11th of July, and letter of Throkmorton to Elizabeth, dated 19th July, copied by Crawford from the Cotton Library, Cal. I. 1. into Vol. III. of his Collec-

1567.

The ambassador sent by the French court in consequence of the troubled state of Scotland, to comfort the queen, and convey to her the advice of her friends, soon saw that it was vain to make any attempt in her favour; and another, who succeeded him, keeping steadily in view the political interest of his own sovereign, even seemed desirous to ingratiate himself with the associated nobles, that the ancient alliance between France and Scotland might, whatever party was successful, be renewed, or preserved *.

French ambassador.

The commissioners appointed by the General Assembly failed in their embassy to the lords at Hamilton, and the circular letters which had been addressed to such of the nobility as remained detached from both parties, were in general equally

Lords at Hamilton refuse to unite with the associated lords.

tion, p. 30—44, and printed from this Collection by Keith, B. ii. ch. 12. Camden's Annals, p. 117, 118. In the MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 16, the author mentions, that Throkmorton was sent to approve the doings of the lords, and Crawford, in his Memoirs, resting probably upon the authority of the MS., enlarges upon this assertion, and supports it. Mackenzie and Blackwood agree in this representation of the design of Elizabeth's interference. Their opinion, however, is not probable, and it is unsupported by evidence. The instructions to Throkmorton are decisively against it, and Throkmorton himself would not have undertaken such an embassy,—would not have been asked to undertake it.

* It appears from the MS. Hist of James, that a French ambassador had arrived in Scotland in the month of June, who, finding the state of the country so convulsed, immediately returned. Sir James Melvil mentions, that in August, in company with Murray, came another ambassador from France, to intercede for the queen. It was the latter one who negotiated with the lords. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 87.

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unsuccessful. Although these noblemen made the warmest professions of attachment to the protestant faith, and declared their inclination to make a suitable provision for the comfortable maintenance of the preachers, they stated, that in the present calamitous situation of the country, when the capital was filled with armed men, they did not consider it as safe to attend the proposed meeting. The Earl of Argyll, in a very long letter, replied to the one which had been sent to him, stating very forcibly the grounds upon which he disapproved of an assembly being so soon convened, and of the steps which had been adopted in the short assembly which had just been dissolved *.

These lords determine to make every concession to the protestant church.

These answers drew still more closely the bands of union between the General Assembly and the lords hostile to the queen. Sensible that they could not proceed in the execution of their schemes without the decided assistance of the ministers, they bound themselves to support whatever laws and regulations might be conceived necessary for the full establishment of the protestant religion †.

The lords considering themselves at length as sufficiently established in their influence, proceeded

* Knox, B. v. p. 410. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 209. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 71, 72. The letter of Argyll is inserted in that record, as are also three other letters of nearly the same import, by Lord Boyd, and the commendators of Arbroath and Kilwinning. These letters are printed by Keith from the Register, in B. iii. ch. vi. p. 577—579.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

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to take the measures upon which they had long meditated. Acting upon the resolution of depriving Mary of her crown, they composed three deeds, which Lord Lindsay, a man eminently fitted by his rough and brutal manners, for any ungracious office, was appointed to present to her. He was instructed to reason with her upon the propriety of her subscribing them, and in case of her not being thus persuaded, he was enjoined to have recourse to violence *.

1567. They resolve to deprive Mary of the crown.

One of the deeds contained her resignation of the crown, and a commission in her name to invest her infant son with the sovereignty; the second nominated her brother, the Earl of Murray, as regent during the minority of the prince; and the third appointed other regents, in case Murray, whose sentiments were not then known, should refuse to accept of this distinguished, but arduous office †.

When the purport of these papers was stated to the queen, she burst forth into the most violent indignation, and declared that nothing should prevail with her to subscribe them. She soon, however, changed her resolution. She saw, upon reflection, that she was completely in the power of her inve-

* MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 17. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 85. Camden's Annals, p. 119. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 208.

† The three deeds are inserted at full length by Keith, in his second Book, chap. xii. See also, Acts of Parliament, 1567, and Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. at the commencement of the reign of James the Sixth.

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terate enemies, she heard that Lindsay was, in the most savage manner, to bend her to compliance with the demands of the lords; and having been advised, by those who were interested in her happiness, not to resist, having been assured by them, that her confirmation, extorted as it was, could impose no obligation upon her conscience, she, with the utmost anguish, and dissolved in tears, attached her signature *.

Lindsay, exulting in his success, returned next morning to Edinburgh, and presented the act of demission to the lords.

July 21st, 25th Deliberations of the General Assembly.

While this important business was transacting, the General Assembly deliberated upon the demands which they should make for s curing the new establishment; and, in the fifth session, which was

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 85. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 17. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 211, and B. v. p. 223. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 38, 39. A very interesting account of this transaction may be seen in Bannatyne's Journal, published at Edinburgh in 1806. In the year 1571, the lords attached to the queen, joined by some persons who, at the period of which I write, had been devoted to the lords, and acquainted with the real state of facts respecting her resignation, held a parliament in Edinburgh. To this parliament a supplication, drawn by the leading men of the party, was presented, the object of which was to shew, that Mary was not justly deprived of her authority, and ought to be revered as the sovereign of Scotland; and in this paper there is an official narration of all the circumstances to which I have alluded. It appears also from this important document, that Throkmorton had been sent by Elizabeth to comfort Mary, and that he had used every possible effort to procure her liberty. See Bannatyne's Journal, p. 223—225, a work which throws much light upon the period to which it relates.

held probably on the day immediately succeeding the queen's resignation, they presented, after mature consideration, the following articles, which, as being the charter of the protestant church in Scotland, I shall particularly record *. 1. That the acts made in the parliament held at Edinburgh on the 24th of August 1560, touching religion and the abolishing of the pope's authority, should be extracted from the registers, and have the force of public laws; and that the said parliament, in so far as it concerned religion, should be defended as a lawful parliament, and be ratified in the first parliament which should be held within the realm. 2. That till a final arrangement should be made for restoring the patrimony of the church, the act of assignation of the thirds of benefices, for the support of the ministry, should be put in execution. 3. That, in the first lawful parliament which should be held, or sooner, if an opportunity should occur, the church of Christ within this kingdom should be

CHAP. XXVII. 1567. Articles presented.

* Knox, B. v. p. 411, and Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 210, represent the negotiation with Mary as taking place after the dissolution of the assembly; but this is a mistake. It appears from Calderwood, and the Register, as quoted by Keith, B. iii. ch. vi., also from the Buik of the Universall Kirk, that the articles were finally sanctioned at the fifth session. Now, the third session is mentioned as having been upon the 23d; the assembly certainly met on the 21st, not the 20th, as had been once intended; and hence, although this is not expressly stated, it may be inferred that the fifth session was held upon the 25th. But Mary signed the deeds upon the 24th, certainly then before the dissolution of the assembly. Calderwood in fact says, that the articles were signed on the 25th.

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put in possession of the patrimony of the church. 4. That none should be permitted to hold situations in colleges, or to undertake the public or private instruction of youth, unless found qualified, and in all other respects approved by the superintendents and visitors of the church. 5. That all kings and princes that shall at any time hereafter reign in Scotland, shall, before being crowned, solemnly swear, that they will maintain and preserve the true religion of Christ, presently professed within this kingdom. 6. That the nobility, barons, and others subscribing to these articles, shall faithfully promise to root out idolatry, especially the blasphemous mass, without exception of place or person, and also shall remove all idolaters and others not admitted to the preaching of the word, from bearing any function in the church which may be a hinderance to the ministry in any way, and in their places appoint superintendents, ministers, and other needful members of the church *.

These are the principal articles proposed by the General Assembly for securing the protestant establishment, and they provided very effectually for that

* Knox, B. v. p. 411. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 209, 210. Calderwood, p. 42. Keith, from the Register, p. 581 583. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 77—82. There are some variations in the articles as given by different writers, but the Buik of the Universall Kirk, or the Register, must be considered as the best authority. To the substance of the account given in these I have adhered, although I have condensed the articles, after Spottiswoode. It is remarkable that Knox does not insert the article about the restoration of the patrimony of the church.

important purpose. The reformed faith is not only unequivocally declared to be the religion of Scotland, but it is taken under the especial protection of the executive power, its preservation being bound upon the monarch by his coronation oath. The restitution of the patrimony of the church for supporting the ministers of religion, and for the other uses for which that patrimony had been destined, is also expressly demanded. The seminaries of education were required to be filled with men whose religious principles were in conformity with those of the church; that the pollution of idolatry, as the popish religion was then termed, might not be insidiously instilled into the mind, at a period of life when prejudices are easily imbibed, and strongly influence the understanding and the heart. There was also to be in future only one established religion. The absurdity of a popish and a protestant establishment, the one deprived of all power to teach religion, the other destitute of the means of supporting its ministers, was done away, and no ecclesiastic was to be considered as invested with a spiritual character, unless receiving his commission from the protestant church. 1567.

The lords assent to them.

When these important requests were finally adjusted, they were presented to the associated lords, who without hesitation approved them, and they were subscribed by the Earls of Morton, Glencairn, Marr, the Lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lind-

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say, Graham, Innermeath, Ochiltree, and many barons and commissioners from boroughs. The commissioners named by last assembly were instructed to require those earls, lords, barons, and other faithful brethren, who had excused themselves from attending in person, to subscribe these articles, agreeably to their promise, that their subscriptions might also be recorded in the register*.

July 5th.

On the day upon which the assembly, having concluded this interesting business, was dissolved, Lindsay arrived in Edinburgh with the queen's resignation. A council was immediately summoned, to which he presented it, and a bond was framed, in which the

Resolution to crown the prince.

lords express their determination to crown and inaugurate the young prince, to establish him in his government, as it became true and faithful subjects, and to resist all who opposed his authority. Although the date of this paper is not inserted, there can be no doubt that the council subscribed it on the day of their meeting, and their adherents continued to sign it till the new government was settled†.

The queen's abjuration of the throne was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the following day, and the

* Knox, B. v. p. 411. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 210. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 42, 43. Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 82. Keith, from the Register which he consulted, has recorded the names of those who subscribed the articles, p. 583.

† Keith, B. ii. ch. xii. p. 434, 435, from the Register of the Privy-Council. See also his note to p. 434, compared with the copy of the bond and the signatures given by Burnet, in the Appendix to Vol. III. of his History of the Reformation, and with the copy inserted by Anderson in Vol. II. of his Collections. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 85.

twenty-ninth of July was fixed for the coronation of the king *.

1567. July 26th. Sir James Melvil sent to the lords at Hamilton.

But before they proceeded to invest James with the sovereignty, the lords considered it as proper to intimate their design to the noblemen at Hamilton, and with some difficulty they prevailed upon Sir James Melvil to make the communication. Upon his arrival at Hamilton, he informed the lords, "that the queen's majesty had demitted over the government to the prince her son, whom the nobles at Edinburgh intended soon to crown; but that resolving to prejudge no nobleman of his rights, titles, or prerogatives, they requested them to attend the coronation, that they might watch over their own interests, and promote the peace and quiet of the whole country." Astonished at this intelligence, some of the Hamilton party expressed a doubt respecting the fact of the resignation, or ascribed it to force; but the archbishop of St Andrews, aware of the danger of such vague replies, after solemn deliberation, answered Sir James, "that they took the communication as in the highest degree friendly, that they put the best construction upon the designs of the council, and would, upon obtaining security for what he had stated, unite with them: that had they been informed of the intention to avenge the king's murder, they would have supported it; and that, although they had now assembled in considerable numbers, they had no design to of-

* Buch. Lib. xviii. p. 365. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 211.

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fend any person, but merely to be on their guard, till the issue of so great an assemblage of nobles and barons, with the object of which they had not been acquainted, should be apparent*."

Little anxiety felt to obtain their support.

Sir James was convinced, from the correspondence which he at this time had with what may be called the queen's party, that they might easily have been induced to co-operate with Morton and his friends; but there was little inclination in those who had assumed power, to sooth or to conciliate them. The council paid no attention to the answer returned by their messenger, and in his estimation, acted in such a manner as justly to offend the Hamilton faction†. Accordingly, none of the lords attached to it attended the coronation, and a protest was taken, that this act should not interfere with the rights of the Duke and his family‡.

Their opposition not formidable.

Their opposition, however, was not formidable. Although they afterwards framed a bond, by which they obliged themselves to defend the queen, it was not followed by any vigorous attempt in her favour, or by any effectual obstruction to the government of James§. From their conviction that

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 85, 86.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 85.

‡ Melvil says that they were not permitted to make protestation, but it appears from Keith, note to p. 496, that there was a public protestation made in the name of the Duke before the coronation. Camden's Annals, p 120.

§ This bond is published by Melvil, republished by Crawfurd, in his Memoirs, and dated by him in December. This date is most probably

the resignation of Mary was in harmony with the wishes of the people, or from their perceiving that their efforts would at the present period be probably unavailing, they listened so far to the Earl of Murray, that the most considerable of them attended the parliament which was held after he had accepted the regency*. CHAP. XXVII. 1567.

On the day which had been appointed, the king was crowned at Stirling. Knox preached upon the occasion, and the bishop of Orkney, who, from having solemnized the marriage between the queen and Bothwell, ought no to have been permitted to contaminate this ceremony, anointed the infant monarch. The crown was put upon his head by the Earl of Atholl; and the Earl of Morton and Lord Hume took an oath for the king, that he would maintain the protestant religion, and dispense justice impartially to all his subjects†. July 29th. Coronation

There was, however, still wanting a person whose talents and influence might compose the dissensions which agitated the country, and protect the throne

erroneous. The bond was formed, as may be concluded from various circumstances, soon after Melvil's embassy.

* Buchan. Lib. xviii. p. 366. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 213, compared with Keith, p. 464, 465, and notes to p. 465. Keith is plainly averse to believe the fact, that the most considerable of the Hamilton party acquiesced in the parliament, but he cannot disprove it. He introduces his account by saying, "if we may credit Buchanan," &c.

† Buch. Lib. xviii. p. 366. Knox, p. 412. Spottiswoode, p. 211 Calderwood, p. 43. Keith, from Records of Privy-Council, p. 437. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 17, 18. Blackwood, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 224. Camden's Annals, p. 120.

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of James. When the scheme of compelling Mary to resign the administration of government was adopted, the associated lords naturally cast their eyes towards the Earl of Murray. His abilities were highly respected; he continued to be viewed with the strongest popular admiration, and his attachment to the protestant religion was so decided, that all who were interested in its establishment could not fail to support him. They instantly dispatched to him minute information respecting the state of Scotland, the probable resignation of the queen, and their anxiety that he should accept the regency. Although upon his arrival in consequence of this interesting intelligence, he hesitated, or affected to hesitate whether he would not decline the exalted condition marked out for him, he heard with much satisfaction of the intention of so large a part of the nobility to invest him with supreme power*.

The Earl of Murray solicited to accept the regency.

His arrival in Scotland.

He immediately left France, probably dreading, and not without cause, that if he delayed he would not be permitted to leave it†. He passed through England, and the lords, advertised of his arrival, sent Sir James Melvil to meet him at Berwick, and to announce to him that the queen had appointed him to be the regent. Melvil readily undertook this embassy, because he hoped that he might incline Murray to act with gentleness towards his unhappy sister. With respect to her, the lords had

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 85, 87.

† Keith, p. 442., Buchanan, Lib. xviii. p. 365.

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adopted different sentiments. One part, and that the most powerful, wished that she should be treated with severity; and apprehensive that the affection of a brother might soften the austerity of Murray, and dispose him to favour Mary, they instructed Melvil to request that he would take no measures in concert with her without their knowledge. The other party, to which Melvil himself was attached, although they were decidedly friendly to the young king, and to all which had been done by the council, viewed with pity the situation of their late sovereign. They enjoined Melvil to beseech Murray that he would conduct himself kindly and humbly to the queen, and would endeavour to procure for her as much indulgence as was consistent with the security of the prince's administration, representing, "that being now free from evil counsellors, being of an excellent understanding, and a princely inclination, she might thoroughly repent of what had passed, and might act in such a manner as that they should all wish her at liberty to reign over them*."

Representations to him respecting the queen.

This latter mode of acting towards her, Murray seemed highly to approve, but he soon changed his sentiments. When he went to Lochleven, far from soothing the distracted feelings of the queen, far from attempting to reconcile her to her condition, to cheer her by presenting the prospect of happier times, he reproached her with all the crimes which

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 87.

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the violence of political enmity had ascribed to her, declared that she merited the harshest and most ignominious treatment, and even alarmed her by insinuations, which seemed to imply that she would be put to death *.

This wanton barbarity, this total disregard of the wretchedness of a woman, a sister, and a sovereign, casts a shade over Murray's virtues, compels us to regard him as capable of sacrificing to ambition all the amiable affections which adorn human nature. Upon Mary the effect of his savage sternness was most depressing. Amidst all her misfortunes, she had flattered herself that he would espouse her cause, or would deliver her from the cruelty of insult; and the disappointment, to use the forcible expression of Melvil, cut the threads of love between her and her brother forever †.

Even still, however, she had more confidence in him than in any of her enemies; and when he at length assured her that she need have no apprehension of violence, she entreated him to accept the regency, and to govern the kingdom for her son ‡.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 87. Letter of Throkmorton to Elisabeth, dated 20th August, copied from Cotton Library, Cal. C. i., by Crawford. See his Collections, Vol. III. p. 57. This letter is printed by Keith, p. 444,—448. Camden's Annals, p. 120. Crawfurd's Memoirs, p. 42.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 87. Throkmorton's letter, as last quoted.

‡ Throkmorton's letter of 20th of August. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 18.

The manner in which he had spoken to the queen was soon spread abroad, and was even in that rugged age condemned by many who espoused the cause of the lords. They without hesitation remonstrated with Murray; and it certainly displayed on his part much littleness of mind, that he on this account withdrew from them his favour and esteem*.

His arrival in Edinburgh, which happened about the eleventh of August, gave rise to almost universal joy†. He was received by his friends with every demonstration of affection, but uncertainty with regard to his decision respecting the regency, created for a short time the painfulness of anxiety. When urged to comply with the wishes of the council, he professed to feel the utmost reluctance, represented himself as unfit for so weighty a trust, and requested a few days for deliberation‡. But after his return from Lochleven,—after satisfying his conscience by the desire expressed by Mary that he would take the reins of government; after, from examining the state of parties, and receiving unequivocal assurances of support, he perceived that he had little reason to apprehend any formidable opposition, he yielded to the importunity of his adhe-

August.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 87.

† Historians differ as to the day of his arrival. He was certainly in Edinburgh before the 15th of August. Keith, note to p. 442.

‡ Buch. p. 365, 366. Spottiswoode, p. 211. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 41.

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rents, and on the twenty-second of August, assumed the office of regent*.

He accepts the regency.

The privy-council, the nobility, the ecclesiastical state, with the barons and commissioners of boroughs, having assembled, the deed of the queen was read, after which Murray declared his acceptance of the regency, and took the oath which was prescribed to him. In the presence of the eternal God, he swore, "that he would maintain the true religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of his holy word, the right administration of sacraments, as practised within the realm; that he would abolish all religion contrary to the same; and that he would rule the people committed to his charge during the minority of the king his sovereign, according to the will of God revealed in his word, and the laws and statutes of the kingdom." He thus solemnly proceeded: "I shall procure, to the uttermost of my power, true and perfect peace to the church of God, and whole Christian people; I shall keep inviolate the rights, revenues, and privileges of the crown of Scotland; I shall forbid and repress all estates and degrees, oppression, rapine, and all kinds of wrong. In all judgments I shall command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures without exception, as he be merciful to me

* Keith, p. 452, 453. Throkmorton in his letter to Elizabeth, already quoted, mentions the advances which some of the leading men of the opposite party made to Murray. Buchanan, p. 366. Knox and Spottiswoode erroneously state that Murray assumed the regency on the 20th.

and you, that is the Lord and Father of all mercies*."

1567.

This oath indicates a determined resolution to support the protestant religion. All the power of the state against which it had so long struggled, was now turned to defend its establishment. It is to be lamented that they who framed the oath did not rest satisfied with the victory which their principles had acquired. The conclusion of the oath is more consonant to the intolerant spirit of the ancient faith, than to the real nature of the reformed tenets. The regent swore, that he would root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, who should be convicted by the true church. This was, in fact, to restore the most detestable grievance which prevailed under papal dominion. The appellation of True Church does not change the case, for all denominations of Christians apply this title to the communion to which they are attached. We see here, then, one striking example of the inconsistency of human nature; but it must be observed, that even this inconsistency did not annihilate the blessings flowing from the revolution now introduced. That revolution, by laying open to all the sacred Scriptures; by founding religious truth upon these Scriptures, and inculcating it as a duty to search them, dispensed or provided a remedy for the in-

Remarks upon it.

* Keith, B. ii. ch. xiii. p. 463

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tolerance which it should at once have condemned and extirpated *.

1567. The direct tendency of the reformation to improve the condition of those amongst whom it is introduced, is clearly marked in other parts of this memorable oath. As the natural consequence of the feelings and sentiments which the reformers had uniformly cherished and avowed, it expresses solicitude for the good of the great body of the people; for the impartial distribution of justice; for the rights even of the meanest of the subjects; presenting a striking contrast to the despotic and aristocratical maxims, which, in the ages of papal ignorance and superstition, had regulated the administration of government. We see, indeed, at the period of its being prescribed, the dawn of that liberty, the elements of that inestimable constitution, by which Providence has so eminently distinguished the islands of the British empire. The pious man, and the enlightened political philosopher, must thus be equally gratified in the result of those struggles for religious freedom which exalted the lower classes of the community by giving to them sentiments of independence, which lead to intellectual improvement, to public tranquillity, and to the general diffusion of confidence and security, the

* Keith, as last quoted. Speaking of the appellation, the Trew Kirk, this writer most justly observes, "I make little doubt that the trewer the kirk is the less persecution will be made by it."

most invaluable blessings which a good government can bestow.

1567. His wise administration.

Murray had no sooner been invested with the regency, than he made the most vigorous and judicious efforts to get into his possession the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar. The former was held by Sir James Balfour, who, though once a zealous partizan of Bothwell, had been induced, as has been already mentioned, to desert his patron, and to declare against the murderers of the king. The regent did not wish that so important a trust should continue to be reposed in a man who might again change his party, and he succeeded in procuring his resignation, in favour of Kirkaldy of Grange, in whom he had implicit confidence *.

The castle of Dunbar was in that age considered as impregnable, and its governor, had he been hostile, might have given much annoyance to the regent. Murray summoned him to surrender the fortress. He at first refused, but perceiving that he could expect no assistance, and probably despairing of the queen's cause, he was, by the representations of his friends, induced to comply †. Oct. 1st.

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 18, 19. The writer of this work mentions the conditions upon which Balfour resigned his command of the castle. Keith, B. ii. ch. xiii. p. 455. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 213.

† Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 213. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 20, 21. Crawford inserts, in his account, "the governor, who was no stranger to the regent's cruelty." This is not in the MS. and it shews how unfaithfully that MS. was rendered. Keith, p. 455, 456, and Calderwood's MS. quoted by Keith.

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Murray next directed his attention to curb the lawless bands who violated the property of their countrymen; and, proceeding vigorously against them, he was very successful in checking or preventing their depredations. In the interior of the kingdom he established courts of justice for redressing wrongs, and thus gave to the inhabitants of Scotland the prospect of that tranquillity of which they had so long been deprived *.

Parliament, Dec. 15th.

That his authority might possess a legal sanction, and that the promises which had been made to the church might be fulfilled, a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh. It was, as might have been expected, most numerously attended. The crown, sceptre, and sword, were carried by the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Argyll, and every ceremony was performed with the most impressive solemnity †. In consistency with the general spirit of the reformation, the parliament contained a large proportion of the representatives of boroughs. This is considered by some historians as derogating from its dignity, and weakening its authority, but must be regarded by all who venerate the principles of the British constitution, as giving to its decisions additional force ‡.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90. Buchanan, p. 367. Keith, p. 161

† Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 214.

‡ Keith, (p. 465, 466,) who is much displeased with Buchanan's representation (p. 367), of the manner in which this parliament was attended, is anxious to shew that there was little ground for what he calls this writer's flourish. To prove this, he states the members in

The Earl of Murray was confirmed in the regency during the king's minority; all his acts since his acceptance of that office were declared to have the authority of law, and it was enacted, that whatever he might afterwards do in the name of their sovereign lord, during his minority, should have the same strength and effect as the deeds of any former regent *. 1567.

The government being thus constituted and sanctioned, parliament proceeded to the important subject of religion, with a view to secure and defend the protestant establishment. For this purpose they renewed all the acts of the parliament 1560, confirming, or rather re-enacting them. The first act was entitled, An act abolishing the Pope and his usurped authority; in which it was ordained, that the bishop of Rome, called the Pope, should have no jurisdic- Acts relating to the church.

the preceding parliament in April, and in this first parliament of James. In the former there were nine bishops, thirteen abbots, twelve earls, sixteen lords, nine members from boroughs, and six officers of state; in the latter, four bishops, fourteen abbots, twelve earls, fifteen lords, three masters, thirty members of boroughs, and five officers of state, making a difference of eighteen in favour of the regent's parliament. But this, he says, arises from there being more borough members. Surely, if we consider the parliament as thus more fully representing the great body of the people, this circumstance is no reproach to it. To impress his readers with his own sentiments upon this subject, he concludes by observing, that any person who inspects the registered rolls, will meet with but a very small number of that estate of the boroughs in the most part of our parliaments preceding this date. See the General Preface to Anderson's Collections. A list of the Regent's Parliament is published by Anderson, from the Cotton Library, in Vol. II. of his Collections.

* Acts of Parliament, collected by Sir Thomas Murray, p. 178.

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tion or authority in Scotland in all time coming; and that none of his majesty's subjects should hereafter desire title or right of the said bishop of Rome, or of any of his sect, to any thing in this kingdom, under certain severe penalties specified in the act. The second act annuls those acts of parliament made against God's word; and alluding to the confession of faith, which had been presented to the estates in August 1560, as the standard by which the act was to be applied for determining the true faith, repeats and confirms, by parliamentary sanction, that confession. The act abolishing the mass, and inflicting punishment upor those who celebrated or heard it, was then ratified; after which the protestant church was declared to be the only true and holy church of Jesus Christ within the realm. Respecting the admission of ministers and lay-patronages, it was enacted, that the examination and admission of ministers within the realm was only in the power of the church, openly and publickly professed, and that the presentation of lay-patronages should be reserved to the just and ancient patrons. As a security, however, for benefices being filled, patrons were required to present within six months after a vacancy, failing which, it became competent to the superintendent, or others having commission from the church to that effect, to fill the vacancy. To guard patrons against vexatious opposition, it was enacted, that if the superintendents or commissioners refused to admit a qualified person, legally

presented by the patron, it should be lawful for the patron to appeal to the superintendent and ministers of the province in which the benefice was situated, and if these also refused, to the General Assembly of the whole realm, whose sentence was to be final*. CHAP. XXVII. 1567.

This act is very important. It not only shews that the original practice of the protestant church in Scotland favoured the exercise of private patronage, but it delineates the constitution of that church; clearly shewing that there was a gradation in its judicatories; that, although the superintendent or commissioner held the place afterwards assigned to presbyteries, he was subject to the synod of the province, and that synod to the General Assembly †. It is also evident from it, that, as the General Assembly possessed the supreme ecclesiastical power previous to the existence of presbyteries, these are not the radical courts of the church; that they derived their existence, and all their privileges, from the assembly; that they may be limited and controlled by its authority; and that it belongs to it alone to make such regulations as may be necessary, from any extensive change in the religious situation of the country.

The protestant church thus constituted, having been declared to be the church of Scotland, parliament next determined the duty of the sovereign with respect to it. It was enacted, that all kings,

* Acts of Parliament by Murray, p. 184.

† Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 43.

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princes, or magistrates whatsoever, holding their place, who shall hereafter at any time reign, shall, at their coronation, or at the time of their receiving their princely authority, in the presence of the eternal God, promise by oath, to defend the true religion and the protestant church.

The most difficult arrangement with regard to the church still remained to be made. The General Assembly had demanded, that at the first parliament, or sooner, the patrimony which had belonged to the ancient establishment should be transferred to the new, and the associated lords had acquiesced in the demand. The regent however, desirous as he was to gratify the preachers, and to redeem the pledge which his party had given to them, found, that in the infancy of his administration this was impossible,—that the attempt would exasperate his enemies, and would even sow dissension amongst the steadiest of his friends. He was, therefore, compelled to expose himself to the reproaches of the ministers, by at least deferring a measure in which they very naturally felt the deepest interest. But he did not entirely overlook their wretched situation. An act relating to this was proposed and passed, the substance of which, as it throws light upon the difficulties with which the ministers had struggled, places in a striking point of view their sincerity, and elucidates the sentiments entertained by parliament upon the subject of cle-

rical provision, it must be interesting to insert *. "Because the ministers have long been defrauded of their stipends, so that they are reduced to great poverty and necessity, and notwithstanding have continued in their vocation, without payment of their stipends for a long space of time, but through which they are, and shall be constrained to leave their vocation, if no remedy be provided; therefore our sovereign lord, with advice of my lord regent and the three estates of this present parliament, has statuted and ordained, that the whole thirds of the whole benefices of this realm, shall now instantly, and in all times coming, first be paid to the ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ and their successors; and ordains the lords of session to grant and give letters, charging all and sundry intromitters, or that be indebted in payment of the same, to answer and to obey the said ministers and their collectors to be nominated by the said ministers, with the advice of my lord regent, notwithstanding any discharge given by our sovereign lord's mother, to whatsoever person or persons of the said third, or any part thereof, ay and until the church come to the full possession of their proper patrimony, which is the teinds†." 1567.

* Even before the meeting of parliament, the regent took measures for enforcing the payment of the thirds to ministers. See, in the Appendix, No. XVIII. an order to the comptroller, which I found amongst the Dun papers.

† Collection of Acts of Parliament by Sir Thomas Murray, p. 184, 185. The act farther requires, that an account of receipts should an-

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By this act the right of the church to the teinds is expressly recognized, and virtually confirmed. Parliament had in contemplation a time when that right would become effectual; and accordingly the provision from the thirds was not granted as an equivalent, but as a temporary supply, until a final arrangement could be completed. It was then the clear doctrine of the law and the constitution of Scotland, that the teinds are not the absolute property of the laymen who possess them; that they are the proper patrimony of the church, and cannot cease to be so, except by such an act of the legislature as would unhinge all property, and introduce a precedent which might ultimately lead to the most alarming political convulsions. This doctrine has in some degree been sanctioned by a late parliamentary regulation, which, although it limits the privileges of the clergy, and applies to them principles, which, if applied to other proprietors, would justly be branded as oppressive, has secured them from absolute want, and put an end to pretensions on the part of the landholders of Scotland, equally fallacious and degrading to the clerical order *.

nually be given to the exchequer, and that the remainder of the thirds, after paying the ministers, should be applied to the use of the king.

* Act of parliament regulating the powers of the court of teinds, as to granting augmentations to the clergy. Since that act another has been passed, raising the stipends of those benefices destitute of all funds for augmentation, to L.150 per annum. This is a most wise measure, while it is founded upon the strictest justice. It may be

Two other acts for securing the protestant faith, and in conformity with the articles of the General Assembly, were passed in this memorable parliament; the one ordaining that no one was eligible as a judge, procurator, notary, or member of any court, who did not profess the reformed religion; the other subjecting the teachers of youth to the examination of the superintendents and visitors of the church *. After all these measures, producing so great a change in the state of the kingdom, had been adopted, the parliament was dissolved. CHAP. XXVII. 1567.

The protestant religion may, from this period, be considered as fully established in Scotland. Although it had obtained the sanction of the parliament held in consequence of the treaty of Edinburgh, that parliament was never confirmed by the sovereign. So far from taking an oath to support what it had enacted with regard to the faith of the kingdom, she dissented from it, and openly avowed her attachment to the doctrines of Rome. There was thus a contest between the two establishments, both of which were in existence, and even the most sanguine protestants were sometimes doubtful which would finally triumph. But from Murray's accession to the regency opposition ceased. The Romish hierarchy was dissolved; the king was a protestant, and the protestant church was interwoven with the Dec. 20th. Establishment of the reformation in Scotland.

hoped, that the scanty revenues of some of the Scotish universities will also soon attract the notice of the legislature.

* Acts of Parliament, last quoted.

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constitution which he swore to preserve. Some points indeed were not finally arranged; but the foundation was so firmly laid, that by nothing except a revolution taking the monarch from his throne, could it have been destroyed. The feeble attempts which were made to restore Mary did not shake it; and her flight into England, combined with the unprincipled policy of Elizabeth in detaining her a prisoner, and at length condemning her to the scaffold, removed every cause which could impair its strength.

The disputes and divisions which soon began to to disturb the harmony of the church, related to questions of ecclesiastical policy and discipline, which left the great base of the fabric untouched. The advocates of presbytery, and the supporters of episcopacy, agreed in their opposition to the papal influence; would have united the strength which they wasted, often in the most frivolous controversies with each other, had the fundamental principles of the reformation been obviously in danger *.

* The dissensions of the protestants strongly influenced the political principles, the manners, and the general sentiments of the inhabitants of Scotland. Indeed, the important events which soon marked the history of that country, its intercourse with England after both were placed under the same sovereign, cannot be fully explained or understood without adverting to these dissensions. To trace their nature and effects, would afford interesting and instructive matter for another work, which, as a supplement to this history, the author, if his book be honoured with public approbation, and if his other duties afford him leisure, may at some future period undertake.

That the reformers looked upon the acts of this parliament in the light in which I have represented them, cannot be doubted. They complained, indeed, that the revenues of the church were not restored; and perhaps thought that the regent, by proper vigour, might have restored them; but they were completely satisfied that government was now pledged for their protection and support. Of this there cannot be a more striking proof than that afforded by an assembly which met about the conclusion of the parliament. Willock, one of the superintendents, had, during the troubles which the king's death had occasioned, gone to England. The church, anxious to be benefited by the labours of a pastor who had been most active in promoting the reformation, wrote to him urging him to return. To determine him to comply with the request, they represented to him "that a godly magistrate was now invested with the supreme power, that religion was established and flourishing throughout all the realm; that sufficient provision was appointed for ministers;" and to sum up the whole, they concluded with these remarkable words, most significantly expressing their sentiments, "now shall you see the copestone of that work, whereof you laid the foundation*."

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The object of this history is now therefore ac-

* Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 44.

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complished, and I have only to add a few general observations, which the progress of it naturally suggests.

Concluding observations.

When the reformation was introduced into Scotland, there was little or no probability of its acquiring an establishment. The sovereign, the clergy, many of the most powerful of the nobility, the wealth and the influence of the nation were all directed against it; while the people, sunk in ignorance, and debased by slavery, fettered by the obstinate prejudices which a religion, laying fast hold of the weakness of human nature, had created, could not have been expected to appreciate the value of the blessing, or to feel much anxiety about securing its possession. Yet, from a combination of causes gradually acquiring strength, the most formidable obstacles were surmounted. Neglect and persecution failed in arresting the diffusion of the reformed faith; it was embraced by increasing numbers, until the public voice solicited or demanded that it should be declared to be the faith of the nation. They, who survey the history of the world, with reference to that Omnipotent Being who ruleth throughout the universe, must trace, with gratitude and admiration, many signal interpositions of his providence for weakening the dominion of error, and strengthening the cause of religious truth, associated, as it happily was, with political freedom; while they who look not beyond the passions, the talents, and the exertions of men, for the revolu-

tions which mark the history of the human race, must discern that the efforts to disseminate the protestant religion were made with judgment, and with a perseverance which no privation and no suffering could relax or destroy.

In the arduous contest for truth, Knox bore a most conspicuous part. The nobles who defended the principles of the reformation were often guided by interested motives; and although it cannot be admitted that they were indifferent about religion, it is certain that their zeal for its purity sometimes yielded to the fascinating love of affluence or of honour. But Knox never for a moment deserted what he believed to be his duty. In the most trying seasons he remained inflexible, and although susceptible of the ardour of friendship, and connected by the strongest ties with the eminent and powerful men with whom he had long acted, he did not hesitate to stand alone, to forfeit their kindness and their esteem, when he could not preserve these without a compromise endangering the liberty or religion of his country. Partaking of the roughness of an age, in which the refinement of polite manners was unknown, he sometimes acted with a rude sternness, which, in modern times, would be considered as indicating a cruel and savage disposition. In this respect, however, he was not singular; he would have been singular had he not thus acted. But amidst all his eagerness, amidst the severity of

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remonstrance or reproach, his eye was invariably fixed upon the improvement of his fellow-creatures; while with one hand he planted the banners of religious reformation, with the other he brake the fetters with which despotism would have chained and degraded his countrymen.

The political and religious sentiments of the elegant and profound historian of England, have led him uniformly to speak of this distinguished reformer with asperity or contempt; and writers infinitely inferior have adopted the unfounded aspersions which he sanctioned. But let not literary fame succeed in hiding what ought not to be concealed, and what ought for ever to be recollected with gratitude; that to what has been branded as the sedition of Knox, we owe the first improvement of the science of government; that to what has been condemned as his fanaticism, we are indebted for that emancipation from spiritual oppression, from which so much that is good has happily resulted.

That he was occasionally in error, that he often apprehended danger where it did not exist, that he frequently acted with a vehemence which he ought to have checked, that his zeal was sometimes mingled with enthusiasm, it is impossible to deny. But although he was not perfect, he should still be contemplated as one of the most illustrious of men. His opinions upon government, upon morals, upon

religion, display a vigour of mind, an acuteness of penetration, a soundness of understanding, which, for the period at which he lived, are astonishing; and if they who have banished ignorance, promoted intellectual cultivation, and disseminated the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty, ought to be revered, an attentive examination of his conduct warrants us to ascribe to him a high place amongst the benefactors of mankind.

One delightful circumstance connected with the reformation in Scotland, must have struck all who have attended to its advancement. It was a revolution unstained by blood, unsullied by the cruelty of active persecution. That its establishment was too much connected with intolerance, that the antipathy to popery, and the nature of the opposition made to it were illiberal, cannot be doubted. All this, however, was the fault of the times. The human mind, even in its utmost energy, cannot at once free itself from prejudices which ages have confirmed; and candour requires, that in estimating the merit of the reformers, this should not be forgotten. But their principles, both with respect to doctrine and to discipline, tended to cherish liberality of sentiment. These principles, after every attempt to pervert or to eradicate them, are now gaining ground; and the most enlightened friends of religion in Scotland, while they profess the faith of their fathers, and value as they ought the liberty of

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professing it, extend indulgence to those who differ from them, mingling what never should be separated, zeal for what is believed to be true, with the patience of forbearance, and the mildness of charity.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. I.

LETTER to which allusion has been made, as confirming the charge of Wishart having been accessory to the death of Cardinal Beaton. The Earl of Hertford thus wrote to Henry VIII. of date April 17, 1544:—

"This day arrived from Scotland Mr Wisheart, who brought me a letter from my Lord Brimston, which I send your Highness herewith, and according to his requests, I have taken order of the repair of the said Mr Wisheart to your Majesty, for the delivery of such letters as he hath to your Majesty from the Lord Brimston; and also, for the said declaration of his credence, which, as I can perceive by him, consisteth of two points; one in the Laird of Grange, late treasurer of Scotland, and the Master of Rothes, the Earl of Rothes his eldest son, and John Charters, who would attempt either to apprehend or slay the Cardinal at some time when he should pass through the Fife land, as he doth sundry times to St Andrew's; and in case they can so apprehend him, will deliver him up to your Majesty; which attempt he says they would enterprize, if they knew your Majesty's pleasure therein, and what supportation and maintenance your Majesty will minister to them after execution of the same, in case they shoule

be pursued afterwards by any other enemies." The evidence for any accusation must be poor indeed, when such a document is adduced to support it. There is no other reason for supposing that Wishart the reformer was the person sent upon this strange embassy, than that founded upon the name of the messenger being the same with his, while there are innumerable reasons for concluding that he could not be the agent of the Lords in a business so inconsistent with his general principles, and so shocking to a humane and generous mind. The accusation, as I have observed, was not brought forward by Leslie, and seems to have been the invention of a period long subsequent to the death of Wishart. Now, it is difficult to conceive, that if he really engaged in this conspiracy, this should not have been known, for it was carried on in a manner not favourable for concealment; he first went to Lord Hartford, he was sent by him to the King, and his business at court, if to court he did repair, could not have been kept secret from all the persons with whom he must have held communication. At the time of his carrying the letters, he had attracted much notice in Scotland; and had he suddenly suspended his preaching to proceed to England, this would have excited curiosity, and would probably have led to a discovery of the design which he was attempting to accomplish. But it is unnecessary to urge any thing more upon a subject where the truth must be so easily perceived.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Some Extracts from Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, published in black letter at St Andrew's, 1552.

"OF HERETICS.

"Heir it is expedient to descrive quha is ane heretyk; quhilk descriptioun we will nocht mak be our awin proper invencion, but we will tak it as it is els made and geven to us, be twa of the maist excellent doctouris of haly kirk, Hierome and Augustine. Thir ar the wordis of St Hierome, quhilk he sais in his Commentarie upon the Epistle of St Paul to the Gallathians: Quicunque aliter scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est, licet de ecclesia non recesserit, tamen hereticus appellari potest. Quhat Christin man or woman soevir thai ar quhilk understandis the Haly Scripture otherwayis than ye mind of ye Haly Spirit requiris, (be quhais inspiracion the Scripture was writtin) supposs he gang nocht fra the company of ye kirk, zit he may be callit an heretyk. Now heir the wordis of St Augustin, descryvand quha is ane heretyk: Hereticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et maxime glorie principatusq.: sui gratia, falsas et novas opiniones vel gignit, vel sequitur. Efter my opinion (sais he) he is ane heretyk, quhilk, because of any warldly profeit, and maist of all, because of his awin glore and promotioun, leiffas the trew faith, and other makis or folowis fals and new opinions. Gif ze speir agane at me, how may ze knaw the trew sence of the Scripture intendit be ye haly Spirit, and sa discerne ye verite of our faith fra new and fals opiniouns callit hereseis? Trewly this ze may knaw and discerne be thre wayis: First, be trew collatioun, applicatioun, and conferring ane place of the

Scripture til ane uther, for comonly ye sentēce quhilk is put in ane place of the scripture obscuirly, the same sentēce is put in ane other place of the scripture pleanly. Than quha sa hais the ingyne, cunning, or knawledge to cōferre ye obscuire place to ye plain place, may cum to ye trew understanding of the obscuire place. And maist of all, it helpis us to ye trew intelligence of ye scripture, to tak gud tent to the wordis that ar writtin immediately afor the text yat we heir or reidis, and alswa yat follow-is efterhend ye same; for sum tyme ye wordis written afore, sum tyme ye wordis written eftirhend, sum tyme baith ye wordis afore and efter, oppinis til us ye trew and plaine sense of yat text of ye scripture quhilk we desyre to vnderstand. Bot because mony men reidis ye scripturē, and hes nocht ye gift of ye haly spirit; callit interpretatio sermonū, the interpretation of wordis, that is to say, (after ane exposition) of difficil and obscuire places; theirfore, it is expedict to cum to ye secūd way, quhilk is ye expositiō of autentyk doctours, approvit be ye auctorite of haly kirk, and resavit be lang consent of ye Christin peple, as Herome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregorie, Chrisostome, with mony uthir sic lyke, to quhome ye haly spirit gaif ye gift of interpretacion and exposition of ye scripture, and alsua leirit ye trew sence of ye same at yair doctouris and eldaris, quhilk likewais leirit ye same trew sence at yair doctouris and eldaris, sa ascendāt to ye apostils. The thrid way to knaw quhat are ye bukis of haly write, quhat is the trew sence of ye same, quhat ar the articlis quhilk ar heresie, is ye declaracioun, determinatioun, and decisionis of general counsellis, gaderit togidder and concludit be ye inspiratioun of the haly spirit, quhame the father eternall, and our salviour Jesus Christ his natural sonne hais gevn to the kirk to be ledar, techar, and direckar of ye same kirk, in all matteris cō-

cerning our catholike faith and gud manneris of the Christin peple, quhilk catholike kirk is trewly representit in al general counsellis lauchfully gaderit in the Haly Spirit. Quharfor, he that will nocht heir, resaif and obey ye deffinitionis and determinationis of lauchful general counsellis concerning materis of our faith, he is nocht to be accountit a trew Christin man." There is much sound advice in this extract, and much art in connecting the Popish notion of heresy with what cannot be disputed. The two following extracts will afford a specimen of the moral instruction contained in the catechism, and of its opposition to prejudices and superstitious notions then very prevalent.

"How mony maner of wayis may justice be pervertit, and unjustly execute be jugis and othir officiaris of the law? Four maner of wayis. First, be hettrent and malice quhilk thai beir aganis ony man: Secundly, for feir to displese ony gret man, or ony warldly friend: Thirdlie, for lufe of ony temporall geir; and Fourtlie, for carnal affectioun of thair friendis. Be ane or ma of thir four maner of wayis, justice is oft tymes nocht trewlie and lauchfullie executit; and speciallie, advocatis, procuratoris, and scrybis, quhidder thae be of temporal court, or spirituall, braikis yis comman (thou shalt not steal) twa maner of wayis. First, quhen yai tak wagis to procure or defende a cause, quhilk yai ken is unlauchfull and aganis justice. Secundlie, quhen for thair wagis thai tak on hand ane lauchfull cause, bot for lucre of geir thay differ and puttis of the executioun of justice fra day to day, and ofttymes fra zeir to zeir, to the gret skaith and herschyppe of thaim quhilk hes ane rycht actioun of the pley. All thay that findis ony tynt geir, gold, sylver, or ony uther thing, and knawis, or may knaw with diligent spering, quhay awe the same tynt geir, and wyl nocht re-

store it, and gyf it agane to ye trew awner, they are theiffis, and braikis this comand. Lykwayis, al thai breckis this comand, quhilk wil nocht pay thair dettis when they may, and suld pay them. Quhasaevir payis nocht thair tendis dewlie and haillelie as thai aucht to do, thae comit theift, and breckis yis comand. All executoris quhilk takis on hand to fulfyll the last wyll of ony man or woman, and wyll nocht pay the dettis of ye dede, and uther legacies, wyll nocht help ye freindis of ye dede, nor do deidis of cheritie, and suffrages of the kirk for ye saul departit, conforme to the dedis, wyll, and ordinance, thay grevouslie dyspleis God be the transgressioun of yis command, and may be comptit before God nocht only theiffis, but oppin reffaris. All medicinaris and chirurgeraris, quhilk is nocht expert in thair facultie, and zit will tak on hand to cure ony man or woman fra seiknes, quhilk thai can nocht do, takād wagis largely fra the same seik personis, yai commit thift agains this command. Lykwais, all pottingareis quhilk takis silver for evil and rottin stufe and droggaris, can nocht be excusit fra committing of thift. Thus, in the same command, Almychty God forbiddis all injust and unlauchful taking, getting, and keeping of uther mennis geir; and be the contrare God commandis, that all transgressouris and brekaris of yis command afore rehersit, with al yir power suld mak hail restitutioun of their wrangous and vnlauchfull gottin geir; for it is ane common and trew saying of Sanct Augustine, Peccatum non dimittitur nisi ablatum restituatur. The syn is nocht forgiffin, except the wrangous geir be restorit; and gif sa be yat thow may nocht restore in deid and incōtinent, at the least thow suld haif ane gud will and purpose to restore the wrangous geir quhen thow sal be abil.

"Thai brek this command (the first) quhasaevir usis wichecraft, nicromansie, enchantment, juglarie, or trustis in thame, or seikis thair help; quhasa lippins to wordis, or dremis, quhasa lippens to defend thairself or their beistis, or geir, aganis fyre, watter, swerd, noysum beistis, with certenne takinnis or writingis superstitiously. And gif ony man or woman would say: Oft tymes we se thet things cumis to passe, quhilk divinaris sais; oft times men and beistis ar helpet be wytched charmis; oft tymes geir tynt or stowin is gettin agane be cowngerars,—and sa apperandly it is noch evil done to seike for sicklike help—O yu wretchit and blind man or woman, yat thinkis or sayis siclike wordis! Knaw thou weil and understand, that quhensaevir thow speris or seikis for ony help, counsel, remede, consolation, or defence at ony wytche, sorcerar, cowngerar, or siclike decevars, thow dois greit injure to thi Lord God, because that thow takis the honour and servise quhilk aucht to be gevin to God allenarly, and giffis it to the devil, quhilk is deidly enemie to thy saul; for without dout, all wytches, nigromanceris, and siclyke workis be operatioun of ye devil, under a paction, condition, band, or obligation of service and honour to be made to him.

"Nather can thai excuse thameself fra transgression of the first command, yat superstitiously observes ane day mair than ane other, as certane craftismen quhilk will nocht begin their warke on the Saterday; certane schipmen or mariners will nocht begin to sail on the Satterday; certane travelers will nocht begin thair journay on ye Satterday, quhilke is plane superstition, because that God Almychty made the Satterday as well as he made all other dayis of the wouke: Quharfor, all lesum workis may be begon als well on the Satterday as ony other day

of the wouke, quhilk is nocht commandit haly day. Syclik supersticion is amang thame that will nocht berisch or erde the bodis of their freindis on the north part of the kirk zard, trowand yat thair is mair halyness or vertew on the south-side than on the north. It is nocht unknawin to us, that many and sundry uther sinfull and dānable kindis of witchecraftis and superstitionis ar usit amang sum men and women, quhilk at this tyme we can nocht reherse and reprove in special; thairfor, according to our dewties, we require zow forbeir thame all, because thai ar all damnable to zour saulis."

In several parts of Scotland, some vestiges of the superstitious practices here reproved, and of other similar ones may be traced, so difficult is it to eradicate the prejudices which, in a dark and ignorant age, had been instilled into the human mind.

After explaining the first article of the Creed, the author subjoins some moral lessons, the first of which I shall insert. "Quhen we believe with our hart, and confesses with our mouth this first artikill—I believe in God, father almychty, makar of hevin and erde, we are directit to the trew knawledge of the majestie of God. For this is a general rewle, ilk ane makar is mair excellent than is the work. God Almychty is the makar of hevin and erd, and all things contenit yairin, quharfore, he is mair excellent than all the creatouris of the world. Thus, we may cum to sum knawledge of God's majestie, power, wisdome, and gudnes, be faith of this first artikel." I shall conclude the extract from this work with a part of the primate's pastoral admonition, strikingly shewing the effect which had been produced upon his own mind, and upon the mind of his synod, by the activity and zeal of the reformed teachers. I have mentioned, in the

course of the work, the indolence of the Popish clergy. This was long overlooked by those who should have corrected it; but the Archbishop found it at length necessary to direct against it the most forcible exhortations. "We exhort zow all yat ar personis of kirkis, quhilk hes ressavit upon zow the cure of saulis, quhat degree or name saever ze have, that ze wald apply zour diligens to do zour office; that is to say, to preche and teche syncerely the evāgil of God to zour parochionaris, according as ze ar oblissit to do be ye law of God and haly kirk. And trew nocht yat this buke sal discharge zow afore God fra executioun of zour forsaid office: for trewly it is nocht set out to that intentioun, nother to give to zow ony baldness or occasioun of negligence and idilnes; heirfor, for ye tender mercy of God, and for ye lufe yat ze have, or suld have, to the bitter passioun of Christ Jesu our salviour, quhais spiritual flock, bocht with his awin precious blud, ze have takin to keip and feid, yat ze fail ze nocht to do zour office, ilk ane of zow to zour awin parochionaris, seand yat thai pay to zow thair dewtie sufficiently. Consider weil, and dout nocht bot yat ze ar als mikel bund to yame as thai ar bund to zow." Then follow some apt quotations from Scripture, pointing out the judgments which will descend upon negligent pastors, and describing the duty which they were bound to practice. There are some curious examples of casuistry, some amusing illustrations of several of the peculiar tenets of the Popish faith, but the specimens here given will give the reader some idea of the nature of this catechism. It will be seen from the extracts, that there were no settled rules of orthography. The words seem to have been written agreeably to the mode of pronunciation, and this explains the fact, that the same word is often spelt differently in the course of a few lines or pages.

APPENDIX, No. III.

"THE counsall geven be the Deyne and Chapter of Abdn., to my Lord Bischope of Abdn., the ordnar, at his Ld^p. desyre, for reformatioun to be maid and stanching of heresies, pullalant w^tin ye Diocie of Abdne., and the order prescrivit to be observit to the samyn effect," An. 1559. Copied from an old MS. amongst the papers belonging to the family of Dun, by Professor STUART of the Marischal College, Aberdeen.

"Imprimis, that my Lord of Abdn. causs the kirkmen w^tin his Lordschipis diocie to reforme y^mselfis in all yr sclanderus maner of lyving, and to remove thair oppin concubinis, as weile grete as smale, under sic pains as is conteint in the law and acts provinciall; and the chapter of Aberdene sall doe siclyk amang thayme in all scharpest maner, conform to the law, als weil on thairselves as yr servandis, or ony uthir personis dwelland under thair jurisdiction. Item, for preching to be maid w^tin ye hail diocie; that yair be send letters monitorie upon the hail parsonis, abbotis, and prioris, to causs preching to be maid w^tin thair kirkis, betwix this and Fasternisis Evin nixt, at least anis in ilke paroche kirk, and ane uther tyme betwix Pasche, w^t continuatioun, conforme to the acts provinciall, under painis conteinit y^rintill; and failzing y^rof, that my Lord causs send ane prechер to ever ilk kirke that is not prechet in lentron y^refter, and to tak up the painis y^rof, to be applyit to certane prechers, to be sent throw the diocie, and letteris to be direct y^rupon, upon ye fermoraris y^rof, conform to the statut provincial; swa yat ye peple be not in dainger, becauss of inlaik of preching of the trew Catholyk fay^t.

And siclyk sequestratioun of all frutis to be maid, usque ad reformationem ecclesiarum pro parte rectorum; and writtingis to be maid yrupon by my Lord to yame all yt ar absent to cum, and mak residence wtin the diocie and chanonrie of Aberdene, and to reforme ye kirke, and causs preching to be maid yrintill, according to ye acts. Item, to give effect to the statute of residence to be put to executioun, conforme to the foundatioune super septima. Item, anent the ordour and proceeding touching reformatioune of sic enormities as is within yr diocesie. Imprimus, to send ane sumons qtra, infamatas personas de heresia, quod compareant coram Episcopo, Decano et Capitulo, suis in hac parte Consiliariis et assessoribus, ad videndum et audiendum se plecti et puniri secundū juris exigentiā et qualitatē delicti, vel purgandum se purgatione canonica. Nec non et propter absentiam ab ecclesiis suis parochialibus diebus saltem Dominicis, et signanter quia non dedignantur (dignantur) interesse sacrificio Missæ: And quhen thai cum to examine thame, quid sentiunt de sacramento altaris, et de potestate ecclesiæ, et sacrificio Missæ, et reliquis ecclessiæ sacramentis; and to gif reason of thair fayth and beleif, secundum discretionem examinantis conforme to ye scriptour. Quhilk summondis sal be send to thair dwalland places that ar wtin ye diocie, and execut be ane priest notar, with thrie honest witness at the leist, becauss thai cum nocht to thair paroche kirkis on ane Sounday, or ony solemnit haly day. Item, to yis effect, to constitute Maister Nicoll Hay scrive in this besiness, and Maister Thomas Freser, and Alexr Paipe, procuratoris-fiscallis in this, and all uther causis; and every ane of the thrie to haif ten merkis to be pait at the senzie be the Deyne of Mar, and to be allowit in his comptis. And in lyk maner, Maister Robert

Lumisdaile, principal procuratour pensionar, baith to my Lord and Chaptour, to be requirit to procure in the samyn; and the forsaid scryve to direct all letteris, and to be subscrivit be him, de mandato reverendi Patris, and to haif ane speciall seil to be maid to that effect; and quhat beis done yᵗuntill my Lord to ratify, stand at, and approve in all poyntis. Item, to require my Lord Huntlie, balzie of the bischoprik of Abirdeine, and all utheris fewaris of the samyn, for outsetting, defence, and manteyning of the catholik fayth, to be present with my Lord of Aberdeine, and at his Lordchipis seit at the dayis appointit, conforme to thair bandis respectivè: And in cais of my Lord Huntlie's absence, to caus sum principall landit man of his Lordchipis kyn, to be in reddynes in his Lordchipis place, as he beis requiritt for assisterè.

" Item, to send certane granatouris to new Aberdeine, Banchorie Ternan, Echt, Kynerne, Midmar, Auchindoire, and Kierne, to moneis all thai that ar art, parte, reid or counsall of the byrnyng of the kirke of Echt, or casting down of ymages in ony kirke within the diocie of Aberdeine to revele the samyn to my Lord Aberdeine or his Commissaris in that part; and cursyngis to be execut solemnitlie yᵗupon at the merkat croces of new Aberdeine, and auld Aberdeine. And that the premisses may, be the help of God, tak the better effect, the Deyne and Chaptour forsaidis, humlie and hartlie prayis and exhortis my Lord thair Ordinar, for the honour of God, releif of his awin conciénce, and weill of his Lordchippis diocie, eveting of gretar sclander; and becaus all thai that ar contrarius to the religioun Christiane, promittis faythfull obedience to the prelatis, swa that thai will mend thair awin lyvis, and thair inferiouris, conforme to the law of God and haly kirk; in respect hereof, that his Lordship

wald be sa gude as to schew gude and edificative example in speciall, in removing and dischargeing himself of cumpany of the gentill woman be quhom he is gretlie sclanderit; without the quhilk be done, divers that are pertinax, sayis thai can nocht accept counsall and correctioun of him quhilk will nocht correct himself; and in lyk maner, nocht to be owr familiar with thame that ar suspect contrarius to the kirk and of the new law; and that his Lordschip evaid the samyn; that quhen his Lordschip plesis vesey the feyldis to repois himself, cheis sic cumpany as efferis till his Lordschips awin estate; and caus his Lordschipis servandis to reforme thairselfis, because nixt himself it seims him to begyn at his awin houshald. Quhilkis premisses being done, the saidis Deyne and Cheptour belevis in God, that all sall cum weil to the honour of God, and general reformatioun of the haill dyocie of Aberdeine; and thai promes to his Lordschip thair hartlie concurrence and assistence with honour, service and obedience at thai ruler power.

"Signed, *Robert Erskine*, Decanus Aberdonon.
Patricius Myrton, Thesaurarius, Abd.
Ja. Strachauchan a Balhelvy.
Joannes Leslie de Murthlak, S. R. afterwards the famous Bishop of Ross.
Joannes Watsor de Clat, S. S. R.
Arthurus Taillifere de Crechmond.
Jacobus Gordon de Lonmay.
Willielmus Cambell de Tullynessil.
Alexr. Bryd, Subcantor.
Alexr. Anderson, Suprincipalis, Ca[lus]. Abd."

This paper is certainly a very striking document. Subscribed by respectable men, by Leslie, afterwards Bishop of Ross, and at all times a most zealous advocate for the

Popish faith, it cannot be supposed to exhibit the picture in too dark colours; and it does give a very melancholy account of the religious state of that large district of Scotland to which it relates. It admits the open profligacy of the great body of the clergy; allows that preaching and the other duties of the sacred office were most scandalously neglected; states that heresy was making the most rapid progress, and that force alone could be expected to weaken or destroy it. There is much candour in many parts of the representation, but the persons who composed it evidently laboured under difficulty and embarrassment, when, in discharge of the trust committed to them, they found it necessary to rise above the inferior clergy, and address a serious admonition to the Bishop himself. They introduce the subject with as much delicacy as it was possible to use, but having introduced it, they give a delineation of the Prelate, plainly shewing, that he was most dissolute in his morals, mean in the choice of his companions, and irregular as a master of a family, neglecting or overlooking the licentiousness of his dependents. His conduct must have excited much abhorrence before it could be requisite to give to himself the advices which the counsel contains: and indeed this is apparent from their attempting to make an impression on his mind, by representing to him, that many who were regarded as heretics, or enemies of religion, would readily submit to the jurisdiction of the church, if he would amend his life. This renders it evident, that the immorality of the clergy was the first great cause of alienating the people from the established faith, and fully confirms the accuracy of those representations about clerical depravity, which we find in the works of the most zealous of the early reformers, and which have been sometimes considered as exaggerated, or as even betraying a total want of

that charity, which all Christians, who form their opinions from the doctrines of their Saviour, should constantly cherish. It is amusing to observe the manner in which they speak of the heretics, whom they evidently contemplated with the utmost alarm. The rest of the paper is in the language of the country, but unwilling to convey to the people the impious doubts of the reformers; they narrate the charges against them, or rather the grounds upon which they were to proceed in punishing them, in Latin. They denominate them "infamatas personas," and plainly had every inclination to exhibit them in the most unfavourable light. Yet, while they mourn over the "sclanderus maner of lyving," which was too prevalent amongst the priests, while they urge the necessity of removing their "oppin concubines," there is not the most distant insinuation that the advocates of the new tenets were guilty of any immorality; of any of these glaring vices which their own order, without paying any deference to public opinion, did not hesitate habitually to practise. This, then, may be fairly urged as a strong testimony in favour of the Protestant teachers; and points out another reason for the success with which they laboured in enlightening the minds of their countrymen, and laying open the abuses which had contaminated the ancient establishment. The only crimes imputed to the "infamatas personas," were their absenting themselves from their parish churches, and disdaining to be present at the celebration of the mass, a mode of acting which necessarily followed from the sincere adoption of those principles which they professed to found on the word of God, and which, as being thus founded, they inculcated upon all who listened to their instructions.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

A MEMORIAL of certain points meet for the restoring the realm of Scotland to the ancient weale; written by my Lord Treasurer (Cecil), with his own hand, dated 5th August 1559, and copied by Crawford, in his Collection of Papers concerning Scotland, Vol. I. from the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x.

"Imprimis, it is to be noted, that the best worldly felicity that Scotland can have, is either to continue in a perpetual peace with the kingdom of England, or to be made one monarchy with England, as they both make but one isle, divided from the rest of the world. If the first be sought, that is, to be in perpetual peace with England, then must it be necessarily provided, that Scotland be not so subject to the appointments of France as it is presently, which being an ancient enemy to England, seeketh always to make Scotland an instrument to exercise thereby their malice upon England, and to make a footstool thereof to look over England as they may. Therefore, when Scotland shall come to the hands of a meer Scotsman in blood, there may then be hope of some such accord; but as long as it is at the command of the French, there is no hope to have accord long betwixt these two realms.

"Therefore, seeing it is at the French king's commandment by reason of his wife, it is to be considered for the weale of Scotland, that until she have children, and during her absence out of the realm, the next heirs to the crown, being the house of Hamiltons, should have regard thereto, and to see that the crown be neither impaired nor wasted. And on the other side, the nobility and commonality ought to forsee, that the laws and old customs of the realm be not altered, neither that the

country be impoverished by taxes imprest, or new imposts after the manner of France; for provision whereof, both by the law of God and man, the French king and his wife may be mov'd to reform their misgovernance of the realm. And for this purpose, it were good that the nobility and commons joyn'd with the next heir to the crown, to seek due reformation of such great abuses, as tend to the ruin of their country, which must be done before the French grow to be strong and insolent.

"First, That it may be provided by the consent of the three estates of the land, that the land may be free from all idolatry, like as England is; for justification whereof, if any free general council may be had, where the Pope of Rome has not the seat of judgment, they may offer to show their cause to be most agreeable to Christ's religion.

"Next, to provide that Scotland might be governed in all rules and offices by the ancient blood of the realm, without either captains, lieutenants, or soldiers, as all other princes govern their countries, and specially that the forts might be in the hands of meer Scotsmen.

"Thirdly, That they might never be occasioned to enter into wars against England, except England should give the cause to Scotland. Fourthly, that no more noblemen of Scotland should receive pension from France, except it were whilst he did service in France; for otherwise, thereby the French would shortly corrupt many to betray their country. Fifthly, That no office, abbay, living, or commodity, be given to any but meer Scotsmen, by the assent of the three estates. Sixthly, that there be a council in Scotland, appointed in the Queen's absence, to govern the realm, and in those causes, not to be directed by the French. Seventhly, That it be by the said three

estates appointed how the revenue of the crown shall be expended, how much the Queen shall have for her portion and estate during her absence, how many shall be limited to the governance and defence of the realm, and how many shall be yearly appointed to be kept in the thesauric."

Then follow those concluding observations inserted in the body of this history, and which it is, therefore, not necessary again to transcribe.

APPENDIX, No. V.

Extracts from a paper of Cecil, entitled, A short Discussion of the weighty matter of Scotland, dated August 1559, and copied by Crawford, in Vol. 1st of his Collection, from the original in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. The original is written in Cecil's own hand.

"QUESTION.

"Whether it be meet that England should help the nobility and Protestants of Scotland to expel the French or no? That no,—

"First, It is against God's law to aid any subjects against their natural princes or their ministers. Second, It is dangerous to do it; for if the aid shall be no other than may be kept in secrecy, it can't be great, and so consequently it shall not suffice. If it shall be open, it will procure wars, and the end thereof is uncertain. Third, It may be doubted, that when aid shall be given, and money spent, the French may compound with the Scots and pardon that error, to join both in force against England; which is more easily to be believed, because they had rather make a shameful composition with Scotland, than suffer it to be rejoined and united to the crown of Eng-

land. Fourth, It may be doubted, that to stay the progress of religion against the see of Rome, the Emperor, the King Catholick, the Pope and potentates in Italy, and the Duke of Savoy, will rather conspire with the French king, than to suffer those two monarchies to be joined in one manner of religion. And in this part may be doubted, that many, as well Scots as English, that can like very well to have those two kingdoms perfectly knit in amity, will not allow them to be knit in a like religion.

" That yea,—

" First, It is agreeable both to the law of God and nature, that every prince and public state should defend itself, not only from perils presently seen, but from dangers that be probably seen to come shortly after. Second, Nature and reason teacheth every person, politick or other, to use the same manner of defence that the adversary useth in offence. Upon those two principles agreed, will easily and evidently follow, that England both may, and ought to aid Scotland to keep out the French." Here follows a long dissertation, intended to prove that England had a title to the superiority over Scotland. After this, Cecil proceeds to observe: " But besides this former reason, which resteth upon a right and honour, it followeth to consider how England ought, even for the protection of itself from perpetual ruin and subversion, see, and that with good speed, that the French be not suffered, by pretence of this particular disorder, to bring their armies into Scotland. And in this part, both God and nature doth not only allow, but also move the realm of England to look to this in time; for in these cases, when it concerneth kingdoms, haud putâram cometh too late. To prove that England is in evident danger, if providence be not us'd, are to be considered these following things: First, the disposition of the French to

conquer and be masters of England, I think is unknown neither to Englishmen, nor to any of the Christian nations that knoweth one nation from another. No man is so simple that hath read or remembered any stories, to think that that nation hath any conscience in keeping or breaking of peace with England. Next to this, it is too evident that they mean it, and of necessity they must both mean it and follow it.

"At the making of this last peace it was manifest, how they laboured to have had the Burgundians conclude a peace without England, and how insolent reasons they used in that point, and shewed what ground they meant to work on. They could most falsely say at that time, that they knew not how to conclude a peace with the Queen's Majesty, nor to whom they should deliver Calis, but to the Dolphin's wife, whom they took for Queen of England.

"Before that, in the time of Queen Marie, what practices had they in many places, both abroad and here in England, to deprive the Queen Majesty's title that now is, and to set furth their own? In so much, that if God had not conferr'd this crown to the Queen's Majesty with a notable concord of all states of the realm, it was well seen in France how they meant to have set abroad their devise. And too many things there be to prove their burning desire to further this. Their doings at Rome, to procure the last Pope's bull to declare the Queen's Majesty illegitimate; their practices in Almain to set forth Etkin's works against the Queen's moder; their usurpation of the arms of England, first, in their open justs where the King was killed, and then consequently using the same in plate, and to despite the Queen's Maj. servants in the same plate, wherein her ambassadors were served, now also sent into Scotland; the consultation

also had upon the King's death, how this French King should be proclaimed King of England, which was stay'd by the wisdom of the Constable.

"Yet nevertheless, followed the engraving of the same stile in the great seal sent into Scotland, and in the treaty confirm'd with the King Catholick; this that they forbear to do by proclamation, they do by paintings, gravings, writings, and workings; so that it appeareth too manifest what they would, and what they covet. Beside this, how lightly they esteem the Queen's Majesty, appeareth by their keeping of their treaty, being bound and demanded to send a fourth hostage, they have neglected it; and how dishonourable one of them hath passed here with the killing of one of the Queen's Majesty's subjects doth appear too plain; and yet they have seemed cunningly to be complainers, that is, to bite and to whin like [illegible]s or Frenchmen.

"What good disposition the French Queen herself is of, doth well appear by her own disdainful speech to diverse persons, and among others, to some of the Queen's Majesty's own gentlewomen being in France. Hitherto may appear sufficient arguments of the earnest minds of the French toward this kingdom; which, how maliciously it hath been set, former years have always declared when they made no pretence to this crown. And now, how this their malice is augmented and taken root by their false pretended title, may easily appear to be such, as the same will never be stay'd in them as long as the French Queen liveth, or as long as any issue shall come of her body; so that this quarrel now begun, is undoubtedly like to be a perpetual incumbrance of this kingdom. And to manifest that it shall now in this time be put most in use, it is to be considered at this present, that the Cardinal of Lorraine and the whole house of Guise have the chief

governance, who only depend upon the Queen their niece; and having nothing so much to heart as to advance her titles, wherein they have long flattered themselves, that to augment the crown of France with England by the same woman, their cousin, by whom they have gotten Scotland, shall be immortal fame to their house, and an establishment of the same. . . . . It followeth to consider, how near these dangers be at hand, and whether they be so far off, as the same may be deferr'd, without present remedy.

" True it is, and likely, that as long as the nobility of Scotland shall be of greater power than the French, so long will the French forbear the open invasion of England; but as soon as Scotland shall either yield of itself, or be compell'd to yield for lack of power and ability to the French, forthwith will the French employ both their own strength and the power of Scotland against England. And to understand how long it is likely for the Scots to keep the upper hand, is easily judged, if it be remember'd, that the Scots of themselves, when they had a king of their own to aid them, never came into the field with more than fifteen days victual, neither could abide longer together, but were forced to return and change their numbers: so as the way to overcome them, is to prolong time and not fight with them, but stand at defence. And therefore, without relief of money to pay them wages, they can't endure long in the field, or in strength; so that it is most evident, that without some relief, it will be no long time or the Scots shall be forc'd to leave off; whose end of necessity must be the beginning of England, and so the sooner the one endeth, the sooner shall the other begin.

" Then followeth another, though no difficult question, whether it be meeter or more profitable for England to continue the Scots in their strength and defence, than to

leave them, and be at the charges of our own defence? In continuance of the Scots our people is spar'd, and our country in peace, only some treasure is to be spent. In our defence, our people must be spent, our country spoil'd and wasted; and as to expence of treasures, ten times more to be spent that way than the other." He then proceeds to detail the best modes of defence, gives a desponding view of the state of England, of the preparations of France, and of the advantages which it then had for rendering its efforts successful. He concludes by saying, "these things being but words of peace, of war, of levying of men, of arming, of victualling, of money, of munition, and such like, move but as words may; but when time shall come, (which almighty God prolong) then will it move and stir all good English bloods, some to fear, some to anger, some to be at their witt's end."

It must be evident from the perusal of this document, that the question respecting the assistance to be given to the Scotish Lords, was argued by the ministers of Elizabeth, as bearing upon the interests or the safety of England. The general principles upon which that assistance ought to be given, are laid down very perspicuously, and Cecil applies them with great force. The sentiments which he occasionally delivers relating to the policy of the French Court, and the character of the French nation, must be read with much interest; and illustrated as they are by the dismal events of modern history, they strikingly evince the penetration of this enlightened minister.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

The answer to the French Ambassador by Sir William Cecil and Sir John Mason, transcribed by Crawford into his Collection, Vol. I. from a copy in the Cotton Library Caligula, B. x. "To be said to Monsieur De Sevre, the French ambassador, by commandment of her Majesty, the 17th day of February 1559, by Sir William Cecil and Sir John Mason, knights.

"Because the ambassador, in the end of his talk, made mention of two special matters, to the which her Majesty's answer being short, by the reason of her long audience given to him, it is doubted of her Majesty how the said ambassador conceived her meaning; therefore, her Majesty hath sent us expressly to signify her pleasure touching the two said points.

"The first of the two points was, where the ambassador said that the young French Queen bear not the arms of England of her own motion, but by commandment of her father, the late king, and so the ambassador seemed to excuse the deed; her Majesty thinketh the excuse either strange or very imperfect, for that the offence of bearing of the arms was not only in the time of the late king, as indeed it was solemnlie the day that he was slain at the tournayles, but hath been continued and much increased since his death; so as, howsoever his commandment, being alive, might now be alledg'd for an excuse, and so the fault transferr'd to another, yet for the injuries continued ever since unto this day, it were also a great injury to the king, being now dead, to impute the same to him, being buried. But if this excuse might be re-

ceived, yet her Majesty marvelleth who shall bear the blame that the Queen and her husband do not only bear the arms, but also use the stile of England and Ireland, naming themselves King and Queen of England and Ireland, and make their commissions with these stiles, and with seals of the same arms. And if the Queen her Majesty may be somewhat excused, because the king her husband hath authority to command her, yet doth not the king therein the part of such a friend as the Queen look't for, nor can be so excus'd. And though the king also may have some defence devised, we know not what; yet doth her Majesty much muse that the French Queen herself, in granting certain priviledges in her own name, only to merchants in France for simple matters of gain, doth comonly use the stile of England in the same; a matter seeming of purpose to be divulged to the common people.

"These and such like, her Majesty forbare to utter, having neither leisure thereto, nor much good mind to enter into such ungrateful matters; and therefore, hath willed that you should know that she liketh not to be thus used in the deed, and so slenderly us'd in the excuse. Neither can her Majesty, for her honour, suffer her estate to be so neglected in the open sight of the world, like as her Majesty thinketh her ambassador in France hath said somewhat to the French King, or his council, in this behalf.

"The next point is, her Majesty remember'd that the ambassador seemed desirous to know, whether her Majesty meant assuredly to keep peace with the French King? Whereunto her Majesty answer'd, that except she had contrary occasion offered to her, she meant no otherwise. And thereupon, the ambassador touched the aiding or comforting such as he called rebels in Scotland, and there-

in, her Majesty also wishing to end her speech, us'd the less talk. But because her Majesty meaneth not to say otherwise than she thinketh, although she will not many times speak all that she thinketh, therefore her Majesty, in this case, assureth them that she doth not take the nobility and nation of Scotland to be rebels as they term, but, as the matter itself is manifest, they do show themselves wise and natural subjects to the crown of Scotland, to adventure the offence of the French King for defence of his wife's right, their sovereign. And indeed, if they should permit the kingdom now to be carried out of the governance of the nation of Scotland, during the marriage and absence of their sovereign out of their realm, and whilst she is directed only by the French and no Scots, both in Scotland, as by her mother and certain advocates of France, and in France, by the Cardinal and Duke of Guise, truly the world might speak shame of them. Yea, the Queen herself, if she should overlive her husband, should have a just occasion to condemn them all as cowards and unnatural subjects; specially, having on their part the laws of the realm, and the force of diverse facts and covenants made by the French king; and considering with what difficulty she was transported thence, and married to so mighty a prince, whereas, no regard is had to her kingdom, but all that may be devis'd to cause her neglect her crown and estate."

APPENDIX, No. VII.

" A Proclamation, declaring the Quene's Majestie's (Elizabeth) purpose to kepe peace with France and Scotland, and to provide for the suerty of her kingdomes, dated March 24th 1559-1560."

" Although it is evidently seen and judged upon, not only by the natural borne subjects of the crowne of England, but also by many strangers in all parts of Christendome, how many and grete occasions have been given now of late tyme, and so continewed by the French, as well to doubt and fear there invasion of this realme chiefly by the way of Scotland, as also to apply with all spede, convenient power to withstand the same, especially towards Scotland; yet the Quene's most excellent Majestie, considering that ther may be diversitie of opinions conceaved of her procedings in this behalfe, hath thought mete briefly and playnly to notifie her Majeste's certayne purpose and intent, with the just occasion given thereof.

" First, her Majestie, of her good and gracious nature, is content to think that the injurious pretences made by the Quene of Scotland to this realme so many manner of wayes, hath byne bred and issued only out of the hartes of the principalls of the house of Guiso, to whom the chief governance of the crown of France now of late hath happened; and that neither the French king, being, by reason of his yong yeres, not so capable of such an interprise, nor the Quene of Scotts his wief, also being in her minoritie, nor yet the princes of the blud royal, and other estates of France, (to whom hertofore, in ancient tyme, the governance of the affairis of that realme, in the king's minoritie, hath belonged), have imagined, or

intended of themselfs, suche an unjust, unprobable, and so dangerous an interprise and attempte as this is, and appereth to be to all indifferent men. And considering the said house of Guise, for their own private advancement, having no other meane to practise the same but exalting of their nece the Queen of Scotts, in whose respecte they intermeddle with the governance of France at this present, have thus injuriously and insolently set furth, and in tyme of peace, continewed in publike places, the arms and clayme of these kingdoms of England and Ireland, in the name of their nice the Quene, beside other notable reproches; and that (as it is by diverse, and so very likely reported), without the advice of the princes of the king's blud, and other grete personages, or of the sage and long experienced counsellors of that kingdome; and for the prosecution of this their unjust and ambitious purpose, have also used the auctoritie of the King and Quene, their nice, (being unnaturall for her) to enterprise the eviction of the crowne of Scotland out of the power of the naturall people of the land, and thereby to procede with such force, as, under that collour, they have alredy partely, and partely hereafter meane, to send thither to invade this kingdom of England; which, although they have caused to be unjustly and dishonourably claymed so many ways by their nece, yet they well know, that otherwise than by the way of Scotland they can never effectually, according to their desires, offend with any evident danger. Therefore, her Majestie having had the taste in many calamities of Godd's singular goodness; and knowing the justice of her cause, and the naturall obeysance and love of her trew subjects; and taking these insolent attempts to be but the abuse of the said house of Guise during the minoritie of the King and Quene, without any consent of the greter stats of Frantce; and being most desirous

of hir own nature and judgment to kepe peace with all the princes, and (even in this hard tyme of dealing) also with the kingdome of France and Scotland, and with all the subjects thereof, doth give to understand to all manner of people, that although hir Majestie hath been forced to put in order, to hir great charge, certayn forces, both by sea and land, for the sure garde of hir kingdome, being thus impeched and challenged by words, and so approched with force, and manassed with moch greter from day to day, yet her Majestie meaneth not, nor intendeth any manner of crueltie, hostilitie, or warre; but only seeketh, and wisheth, and so hath, diverse tymes, playnly and frendly required of the Cardenall of Lorrayn, and his brother, and by means of them, of the French king also, that these insolent titles and claymes might cease and be revoked; and that ther might be such a quiet and naturall governance granted to the people of Scotland, that they might lyve in their due obedience to their sovereign lady (which they offer) without further oppression and fear of conquest: and consequently, that the men of warre of France might be revoked, being, by reason of the former proceedings of France, in their claymes against this kingdom, overdangerous to be suffered so nigh England: And for the more spede therein, it hath bynn offered, that they should also have safe conducte by water or by land, or by bothe, with all favour and suertie that might be shewed or devised for their departure; and according to their cessing from arms, her Majestie's power by sea and land should also at one instant accordingly cease and be ceassed; and thereby all unkindness to be buried and forgotten, and a stable peace made." I have transcribed this part of the proclamation, as throwing much light upon the views of Elizabeth and her coun-

cil, with respect to the house of Guise and the state of Scotland; the conclusion it is not necessary to insert.

APPENDIX, No. VIII.

Extract of a letter from Killigrew to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, dated Greenwich, 28th May 1560, copied by Dr Forbes from Throkmorton's papers.

"Apon the retorne of Monsieur de Valence, the cuming of Randan, and our loss at Lethe, the Quene's Majestie hath ben so desirus of an end in this matter, as yt was thought meate, for divers respectes, by the Council, that the Secretary shold make the same; who, for his country sake, hath been contented to take the matter in hand. The worst hath been cast of his absence from hence by his frendes, and at lengyth jugged for the best: yf he bring home peace or warr, I must neades think it for the best. I know none can love their contry better. I wold the Quene's Majestie cold love it so well. Mr Secretary and Mr Wotton depart northwards to-morrow, with the French Commissioners, for the better ending these trobles in Scotland: God send them good spede. During this parley, it standeth you upon to writte your advis in hast—Your last dispatch hath much confirmed the oppinion men had of your constancy, whereof your fryndes were glad, because of the rareness thereof: I mean Mr Secretary, who hath found the Duke of Norfolk as constant, and feaw more." Such confidential communications are of much importance for ascertaining historical truth, and this letter will be seen to confirm many of the statements presented to the reader in the body of the work.

APPENDIX, No. IX.

Proposals made by Sir William Cecil and Dr Wotton, the English Commissioners, for securing to the people of Scotland the advantages of the treaty to be concluded with the French King and Queen. Cecil and Wotton proposed to the French Commissioners to insert in the treaty either of the articles marked A and B.

"A. Item, conventum, concordatum et conclusum est, quod nihil eorum, quæ aut in hoc præsenti tractatu, aut in tractatu inter dictos Christianiss. Regem et Reginam Mariam et Nobilitatem ac populum Scotiæ de data—et de quibus conventum est, intelligetur aut interpretabitur in præjudicium alterius cujusdam tractatus, facti et conclusi 27° Februarii ultimo præteriti apud Barwicq inter Thomam Ducem de Norfolk, nomine dictæ serenissimæ Reginæ Elizab. et quosdam nobiles viros regni Scotiæ; sed remanebit dictus tractatus, apud dictam urbem de Barwick factus, in eodem vigore robore et statu in quo erat, ante hujus præsentis tractatus inchoationem.

B. Item, conventum, concordatum et conclusum est, quod quidam tractatus factus apud Berwick, 27 Februarii ultimi, inter Thomam Ducem de Norfolk, nomine serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ, et quosdam nobiles viros de regno Scotiæ, nomine Jacobi Ducis de Chastelherault, et reliquorum procerum secum conjunctorum, pro defensione antiquorum jurium et libertatum Scotiæ, remanebit in eodem vigore, robore et statu, in quo erat ante hujus præsentis tractatus inchoationem: Non obstanti aliqua clausula, sententia seu articulo, in hoc præsenti tractatu, sive etiam in quodam alio tractatu, in hoc præsenti conventu inter deputatos dictæ Christianissimi

Regis et Reginæ Marie, et proceres ac populum regni Scotiæ, Edinburgi, facto et concluso, die," &c.

Instead of these, the Bishop of Valence proposed this article. " C. Ea fœderis pars tantum confirmabitur, quæ spectat ad conservationem libertatis et jurium utriusque regni Angliæ et Scotiæ, et utriusque Reginæ." When, however, these parts of the treaty of Berwick, specified in the Bishop's article, were collected and sent to the French Commissioners, they retracted the consent which had been given to that article forming a part of the treaty. Some conferences were in consequence held, and several proposals, considered as inadmissible, were made; but Cecil at length composed the following article, D., which was adopted.

" Cum Deo Opt. Maximo, in cujus manu corda Regum sunt, visum sit animos dict. Christianiss. Regis et Reginæ Mariæ ita inclinare, ut suam erga nobilitatem et populum suum regni sui Scotiæ, clementiam et benignitatem abunde ostenderint, vicissimque, dicta nobilitas et populus suam erga dict. Christianiss. Regem et Reginam suos principes, obedientiam, obsequiumque, sponte sua, ac libenter professi sint, et agnoverint et polliciti sint dehinc sese præstituros, pro qua nutrienda, conservanda et perpetuenda, præfati Christianiss. Rex et Regina per dictos suos oratores, quibusdam precibus dictæ nobilitatis et populi suppliciter præfatis Regi et Reginæ exhibitis, ad honorem dictorum Regis et Reginæ, ad bonum publicum dicti Regni, et ad conservationem obedientiæ earum spectantibus, assensum præbuerunt: Quia dictus Christianiss. Rex et Regina volunt hanc suam erga suos benignitatem prefatæ serenissimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ sorori charissimæ et confœderatæ suæ testatam esse, cujus intercessione et rogatione dicti Rex et Regina, animos suos huc eo propensius inclinarunt: Idcirco inter dictos

oratores ac deputatos utrinque conventum est, quod dict. Christianiss. Rex et Regina Maria adimplebunt omnia illa, quæ per dictos suos oratores præfatæ nobilitati et populo Scotiæ concessa sunt apud Edinburgum die — mensis Julii, anno hoc presenti millesimo, quingentesimo, sexagesimo, dummodo prædicti nobiles et populus Scotiæ impleant et observent quæcunque continentur in dictis conventionibus et articulis." The English commissioners added this clause: "Ab illis præstanda et observanda."

APPENDIX, No. X.

"The baronis, gentillmen, burgesses, and utheris, trew subjectis of this realme, professing the Lord Jesus within the same: To the nobilitie and staitis of parliament, presentlie assembled within the said realme, desyre graice, mercie, and peice, from God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the increes of his holie spirit, &c.

"Pleas your honours to reduce to remembrance, how, divers and sundry tymes, we (with sum of yourselves) most humilly suitted at the feet of the late queen-regent, fredome and liberty of conscience, with a godly reformatioun of abuses, quhilk, be the malice of Sathan, and negligence of men, ar croppen in in the religioun of God, and ar mentained by sick as tak upoun theme the name of clergy. And albeit that our godly and maist ressonalle suit wes then disdaynefully rejected, quhareof no small trubles have ensued, as your honours well knaw, yet seing that the same necessity yet remanethe, that

then moved us; and mareover, that God of his mercy hes now put into your hands to tak sick ordour as God thareby may be glorified, this comounwelthe quieted, and the policy thareof established. We cannot ceas to crave of your Honours the redres of sick enormities as manifestly ar, and of lang tyme have bene, comitted by the place-halders of the ministry, and uthers of the clergy within this realme.

"And first, seing that God of his great mercy, by the licht of his word, hes manifested to no small nummer of this realme, that the doctrine of the Romane kirk, receaved by the said clergy, and menteined throw thair tyrany, by fyre and sword, conteineth in itself mony pestiferous errours, quhilk cannot bot bring damnatioun to the saulls of sick as tharewith shall be infected; sic as ar the doctrine of transubstantiatioun; of the adoratioun of Christ's body under the forme of bread, as they tearme it, of the merits of warks and justificatioun, that they allege cumeth thareby; togeither with the doctrine of the papisticall indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to sancts departed; quhilk all eyther repugne to the plane Scriptures, or ells have no ground of the doctrine of our master, Jesus Christ, his prophets, nor apostles. First, we humilly tharefore crave of your honours, that sick doctrine and idolatry, as by God's word ar bothe condemned, so may they be abolished be act of this present parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressours. Secundlie, Seing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ ar most schamefully abused and prophaned by that Romane harlot and hir sworne vassals; and also, becaus that the trew disciplin of the ancient kirk is utterly now amongs us, and that sect extinguisched: (For quho, within the realme, ar more corrupt in lyfe

and maners, than ar they that ar called the clergy, living in huredom, adultery, defloring virgins, corrupting matrones, and doing all abominatioun, without fear of punishment), we humilly tharefore desyre your honours to find remedy against the one and the other.

" Thridlie, Because that man of sin most falsly doeth clame to himself the tittles of the Vicare of Christ, the Successour of Peter, the heid of the kirk, that he cannot erre, that all power is granted unto him, &c.; by the quhilk usurped authority, he takes upon him the distributioun and possessioun of the haill patrimony of the kirk, quhareby the trew ministers of the worde of God lang tyme hes bene altogether neglected; the godly learning despysed; the schuilles not provided; and the pure not only defrauded of thare portioun, but also most tyraneously oppressed: We lykways hereof desyre remedy.

" And least your honours sould dout in ony of the former premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, that in all the rabill of the clergy thair is not ane lawfull minister of God's word; the practes of the apostles, the sincerity of the primitive kirk, and thare awin ancient laws sall judge of lawfull electioun. We farder offer ourselfis to prove thame all theves and murtherers, yea, rebells and traitours to the lawfull authority of emperours, kings, and princes, and tharefore unworthy to be suffered in ony reformed comounwealth. How maliciously they have murthered our brethren, for no uther caus bot for that they have offered unto us the licht of God's word, your honours cannot be ignorant; and in quhat hoard thair tyranny hes brocht this haill realme, the ages efter will considder. If ye luke in thame for any uther frute in tymes to cum, then ye have sene in

thame quhom we accuse, we ar assured ye sall be deceaved. Now hes God, beyond all expectatioun of man, made yourselves, who sumtymes wer supplyantes with us for reformatioun, juges, as it war, in the cause of God: At least he hes so subdewed your enemies unto yow, that by violence they ar not able to suppress the verity as haretofor they have done. We tharefore, in the bowells of Jesus Christ, crave of your honours, that eyther they may be compelled to answer to our former accusatiouns, and unto sick uther things as we justly have to lay to thare charges, or ells that (all affectioun layd aside) ye pronunce thame sick by censement of this parliament, and caus thame to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused: Especially, that they may be decerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge, or cure, within the kirk of God; and so from hencefurth, never to joy vote in parliament. Quhilk if ye do not, then in the fear of God we forewarne yow, that as ye leave a greavous yock and a burden intollerabel upoun the kirk of God within this realme, so sall they be thornes in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, quhome, efter quhen ye wald, ye sall have no power to remove. God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, give yow upricht hearts, seking his glory, and trew understanding, quhat this day he quho hes delivered yow from bondage, both spirituell and temporall, cravethe of yow by his servantes: And your answer maist humilly we require."

APPENDIX, No. XI.

Letter of Maitland of Lethington to Sir William Cecil, erroneously dated 1560.

" That thus long I have delayed to write unto your honour, I pray impute it only to my absence. I have been these forty days in the north parts of Scotland with my Lord James, where we have not been altogether unoccupied, but so far forth as occasion would serve, advancing the religion and the common cause. Since our returning, I have understood the stay of Monsieur D'Osel, and judge that you have wisely foreseen the inconveniencies that might have followed upon his coming hither. I do also allow your opinion anent the Queen our Sovereign's journey towards Scotland; whose coming hither, if she be enemy to the religion, and so affected towards that realm as she yet appeareth, shall not fail to raise wonderful tragedies. Athough the religion here hath, in outward appearance, the upper hand, and few or none there be that openly dare profess the contrary, yet know we the hollow hearts of a great number who would be glad to see it and us overthrown, and, if time served, would join with her authority to that effect. But I foresee that the difficulty thereof shall make that which is most principal in intention be last in execution. Sure I am, the suppression of religion is chiefly meant; but the same must be pressed at by indirect means. First of all, the comfort which we have of the Queen's Majesty's friendship must be cut off by dissolution of the intelligence begun of late; which being not feasible in her absence, her own presence will make more easy. The pa-

pists, you know, be in their hearts, for religion's sake, altogether enemies to this conjunction. Those that gave themselves forth for protestants, be not all alike earnestly bent to maintain it. Some have been accustomed so to feed upon the French fare, that their delicate stomachs cannot well digest any other. Some be so covetous, that wheresoever the lure of commodity is shewed unto them, thither will they fly. Some so inconstant, that they may be easily carried away by the countenance of their princess's presence, sometimes shewing them a good visage, and sometimes, as occasion shall require, frowning upon them. Others there be, so careless and ignorant, that they will rather respect their present ease, which shall bring after it most grievous calamities, than, with the hazard of little present incommodity, put them and their's in full security afterwards. These to be a great number, in our late danger, we had great experience; yet I doubt not that the best sort will constantly and stoutly bear out that which they have begun. Marry what difficulty and hazard shall be in it you may judge, when the queen shall so easily win to her party the whole papists, and so many protestants as be either addicted to the French faction, covetous, inconstant, uneasy, ignorant, or careless. So long as her highness is absent, in this case there is no peril; but you may judge what the presence of a prince, being craftily counselled, is able to bring to pass. Every man once in a year hath to do with his prince's benevolence. If at that time when his particular business occurreth, her countenance shall be but strange to him, in sight of the peril, in what case shall the subject then be? Every man hath in his private causes some enemy or unfriend: What boldness shall they not take, seeing an advantage, and knowing

their adversary to be out of the prince's good grace? She will not be served by those who bear any good will to England. Some quarrel shall be picked to them, not directly for religion at the first, but where the accusation of heresy must be odious, men must be charged with treason. The like of this, in that realm, I think, hath been seen in Queen Mary's days; a few number thus disgraced, dispatched, or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey, and then may the butchery of Bonner plainly begin. I make not this discourse as our meaning to debar her Majesty from her kingdom, or that we would wish she should never come home (for that were the part of an unnatural subject), but rather desiring such things as be necessary so to be provided for in the mean time, that neither she, by following the wicked advice of God's enemies, to lose the hearts of her subjects, neither yet so many as tender the glory of God and liberties of their native country, to be the sons of death. The best is, that intelligence begun betwixt these two kingdoms may endure and be increased, the breach whereof I know will be attempted by all means possible. The great desire I have of the continuance, maketh me so earnest to wish that her Majesty may be induced, by good means, to enter in the same conjunction; whereunto if she cannot, by one way or other, be persuaded, then can I not but doubt of the success in the end. Although I do chiefly respect the common cause and publick estate, yet doth my own private not a little move me to be careful in this behalf. In what case I stand, you will easily judge by sight of the inclosed, which I pray you return unto me with speed. I know, by my very friends in France, that she hath conceived such an opinion of my affection towards England, that it killeth all the means I

can have to enter in any favour: But if it might be compassed, that the Queen's Majesty and her highnes might be as dear friends as they are tender cousins, then were I able enough to have as good part in her good grace as any other of my quality in Scotland. If this cannot be brought to pass, then I see well, at length it will be hard for me to dwell in Rome and strive with the Pope. I assure you this whole realm is in a miserable case. If the Queen, our sovereign, come shortly home, the dangers be evident and many; and if she shall not come, it is not without great peril. Yea, what is not to be feared in a realm lacking lawful government? It is now more than two years past that we have lived in a manner without any regiment, which, when I consider sometimes myself, I marvel from whence doth proceed the ness which we presently enjoy, the like whereof, I , all circumstances being weighed, was never seen y realm. It would seem impossible that any people so long be contained in order without fear of pu- ent, and strict execution of the laws; and indeed ot, by searching, find out any probable reason, but at it has pleased the goodness of God to give this his truth preached amongst us; but, by all world- ement, the policy cannot long thus endure: So r this respect, her absence to us is most perni- Thus, whether she come or not, we are in a great

you will say, hath not the council the re- Yes, some in appearance, but none in deed, which is, doth in a manner serve only for a so many as do willingly obey. But to know ority it hath, you must reduce to your remem- treaty made at Edinburgh, wherein, for the

government of the realm, was accorded an article, that the estates in parliament should nominate twenty-four persons, of the most capable of the whole realm, of whom the Queen should choose eight, and the estates thereafter six, which fourteen so chosen should be the council. According whereunto the states, in the next parliament thereafter, nominated twenty-four, whose names were sent to the Queen; but neither would her majesty, being required, ratify that treaty, confirm our proceedings in the parliament, nor allow the nomination of the said twenty-four, but hath always deferred, and thus long fed us with hope of her own coming." The concluding part of this interesting letter, contains proposals from Lethington respecting the policy to be observed for confirming the alliance between the two kingdoms of Britain, which it is not necessary here to insert. What has been transcribed, gives much valuable information with regard to the views of the chief men in Scotland, and to the state of that kingdom before Mary's arrival. It also shews with what acuteness Lethington penetrated into the intentions and probable conduct of his countrymen, and must impress us with a very high opinion of his political talents and discernment. It seems evident that he was, upon the whole, averse to Mary's arrival, and that this aversion was occasioned by an apprehension that he had no chance of securing her favour; had he been sanguine in the hope of acquiring influence, there can be little doubt that he would at this time have attached himself to the court.

APPENDIX, No. XII.

Extracts from the information collected by Keith respecting the rentals of ecclesiastical benefices, as they were ascertained in consequence of several acts of council, and respecting the prices of the different articles composing these rentals.

Keith mentions, that he had been at great pains to draw out an account of the revenues of the bishopricks and principal religious houses. The books which he consulted for this purpose were, 1. The collector's books of the thirds of benefices, by way of charge and discharge, which books are to be seen amongst the other records in the laigh Parliament-house, Edinburgh. The first of these books is for the years 1562, 1563, and for brevity's sake, Keith, when referring to them, marks them by the letter C. 2. The Book of Assumption. This book contains the particular payments which make up the full rental of the several benefices, and is so much the more valuable that the rentals are signed either by the bishops, abbots, &c. themselves, or by their chamberlains and factors; and that by it are to be seen what lands up and down the nation pertained to the church. However, there is this misfortune, that it contains only the north and south parts of Scotland, that part of it containing the rentals of the western parts of the kingdom being either altogether lost, or lying undiscovered. It is much to be desired, that the information contained in this work should be generally known. The difficulty of ascertaining what were church-lands is daily increasing, and affords ground for the most tedious, doubtful,

and vexatious litigation. At the time that Keith composed his work, the only copy of the Book of Assumption which he could find belonged to the family of Panmure. It is not now, I believe, in the possession of the representative of that family, and I suspect the copy seen by Keith had been afterwards presented to the Advocates' Library, in which the book now is. In the Catalogue of that library, published in 1776, it is not mentioned, but I find it inserted in the additional Catalogue, published in 1807. Keith has distinguished the information which he derived from the Book of Assumption, by prefixing to it the letter A. 3. The original Books of Assignation, and superplus of the thirds of benefices, in which are sometimes contained the whole revenue of the greater benefices (for these books never descend below bishopricks, abbeys, nunneries, and principal priories), and sometimes only the thirds. They contain also the particular assignments paid to the ministers, and the superplus redounding to the crown. When Keith quotes from these, he gives intimation by prefixing the letter S. I shall confine myself here to a list of the revenues of the bishopricks; to a specification of the prices at the period of the rentals being delivered, and to some general remarks, referring to Keith's most interesting article for fuller information.

Bishoprick of Aberdeen.—L. 1653 : 16 : 9, Scots money. Wheat, 3 ch. 8 b. Bear, 35 ch. 8. b. 3 f. 3½ p. Meal, 24 ch. 4 b. 2 f. Oats, 8 ch. 2 b. 3 f. 2 p. 16 marts (cattle fed). 141 Muttons, probably ewes, 121 wedders, 65½ doz. capons, 119 doz. poultry, 55 geese, 19 doz. of moorfowl, 17 swine, 12 lasts 10 bar salmon. I have compared this account of the revenue of the bishoprick of Aberdeen as given by Keith, from the sources

which he consulted, with one in my possession, taken from the Aberdeen records. They agree in all the articles except that of wedders, which is not mentioned in the account from the records.

Archbishoprick of St Andrews.—Money, L.2904:17:2, Scots. Wheat, 30 ch. 8 b. 3 f. 1 p. Bear, 41 ch. 10 b. 2 f. 1 p. Meal, 12 bolls. Oats, 67 ch. 13 b. 3 f. Pease, 4 bolls. By the Book of Assumption there is a deduction allowed to the archbishop, for what are called necessary payments, so that the money is brought down to L.2460:17s. Wheat to 21 ch. 8 bolls, 1 f. 3½ p., Bear to 29 ch. 10 b. 2 p., Oats, to 51 ch. 5 b. 1 f. 3½ p.;—a very considerable deduction, but still leaving to the primate what may be justly considered as a princely revenue.

As there is great confusion and uncertainty respecting the revenues attached to the sees of Brechin and Caithness, I shall not insert them.

Dunblane.—Money, L.313. Wheat, 1 ch. Bear, 11 ch. 11 b. 3 f. ½ p. Meal, 50 ch. 1 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Oats, 9 ch. 11 bolls.

Dunkeld.—Money, L.1505 : 10 : 4. Wheat, 4 ch. Bear, 37 ch. 6 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Meal, 64 ch. 12 b. 2 f. 3 p. Oats, 28 ch. 2 b. This was an immense revenue; had it been continued to the present day, it would have amounted to a sum greater than it is desirable should be attached to any ecclesiastical preferment.

Galloway.—Money, L.1137 : 0 : 8. Bear, 6 ch. 15 b. 4. f. Meal, 7 ch. 9 b. Salmon, 268; by another account only 228.

Archbishoprick of Glasgow.—Money, L. 987 : 8 : 7½. Bear, 7 b. 3 f. 3 p. Meal, 32 ch. 2 b. Malt, 28 ch. 5 b. 1 f. Horse corn, 12 ch. 13 b. 3 fir. Salmon, 168.

Murray.—Money, L.1649 : 7 : 7. Wheat, 10 bolls.

Bear, 77 ch. 6 b. 3 f. 2 p. Oats, 2 ch. 8 bolls. Salmon, 8 last. Poultry, 223.

Orkney.—Money, L. 251 : 2 : 6. Cost, that is malt, 78 last, 12 meil, 14 setting, 20 mark; 4 marts, 2 swine. 217 poultry. Scrafish, *i. e.* dried seathes, 24 mais, a mais containing from 1000 to 1500, according to the size. Butter, 8 last, 8½ bar. 6 lespund, the lespund being about two stones, Amsterdam weight. Oil, 4 last. 2 bar. Wax, 20 lb. Peats, 55 fathom.

Ross.—Money, L. 564 : 1 : 2. Bear, 78 ch. 4 b. 1 f. 1 p. Oats, 7 ch. 4 b. Mairts, 40. Sheep 169. Kids, 132. 10 doz. of capons. 57 doz. of poultry. No rentals were given of the bishopricks of Argyll and the Isles. The proportion of money in the above-stated revenues is very small. This arose from the state of Scotland at the period when they were assigned, and perhaps partly from the views with which the assignations were made. The bishops became powerful barons; it was expected that they would be attended by numerous retainers, and they received what enabled them to entertain these followers, in the state of rude and profuse hospitality which then prevailed. We cannot wonder that martial habits sometimes thus usurped the ascendancy over clerical pursuits, or that the households of the bishops were not regulated with that strict regard to temperance and moderation, which, it is to be hoped, is inculcated and practised by more modern prelates.

In the beginning of the Book of Assignations for the year 1573, are inserted the following prices of victual. In Caithness the victual, probably the average of all kinds of grain, 20 merks per chalder.—Ross, L. 16 per ch.—Murray, alsmekil.—Aberdene, L. 16 per ch.—Angus and Mearns, wheat, L. 24 per ch. Bear, L. 20 per ch. Meal,

20 merks per ch.—Stratherne alsmekil as Angus and Mearns.—Fyfe, wheat, L. 26 : 13 : 4 per ch. Bear, L. 21 : 6 : 8 per ch. Meal, L.16 per ch. Oats, 20 merks per ch.—Lothian alsmekil as in Fyfe.—Merse and Teviotdale alsmekill, with Lothian mett.—Nithisdale, L.16 per ch. with Lothian mett.—Galloway, L 16 per ch. with the same mett.—Kyle, Carrick, and Cunninghame, L. 20 per ch.—Cliddisdail, Renfrew, and Lennox, L. 20 per ch.—Stirlineshire, do.—Orkney the last of cost, 20 merks. Barrel of butter L. 8. Barrel of oyl, L. 5 : 6 : 8.

In the Book of Assumptions these prices are found scattered up and down. Bear and meal, 10s. per boll. Oats, 5s. do. Salmon, L. 4 the barrel. Mairts, L.1, 10s. each. Wedders, 5s. each. Poultry, 4s. per doz. Capons 8s. per doz. Swine from 7s. to 10s. each. Geese, 1s. each.

In the Collector's books, the converted prices are thus set down: Wheat, L.1 the boll. Bear, L.1 : 13 : 4 per do. Meal, L.1 : 13 : 4 per do. Malt, L. 2 per do. Rye, the same price. Pease and beans the same. Oats, 10s. per boll. Cost, of Orkney, L. 5 per last. Victual of Orkney, L.1, 5s. per boll. Butter, L.18 per last, Oyl, L.1 per barrel. Flesh of Orkney, L. 3 per last. Mairts of Aberdeen, L. 2 : 3 : 4 each. Ditto of Beauly, L. 2 each. Ditto of Orkney, L.1 : 6 : 8 each. Mutton of Aberdeen, 9s. each. Ditto of Kinloss, 6s. each. Capons of Aberdeen, 12s. per doz. Ditto of Kinloss, 10s. per doz. Swine of Aberdeen, L.1 each. Kids, 1s. each. Poultry, 4s. per doz. Geese, 1s. each. Muirfowls, 4s. per doz. Cheese, 6s. 8d. per stone. The proportions of price between the different kinds of grain are, according to the above statement from the Collector's books,

very different from what might have been expected, and from what we find in the preceding statements. Wheat is charged at L.1 Scots the boll, much cheaper than usual, while bear and meal are charged at L.1 : 13 : 4, nearly triple of the price commonly stated, and much higher than wheat. There must have existed some particular reason for this in the year to which the Collector's Book relates, or there must be some mistake in the statement, which I am rather inclined to believe because the statements in the Book of Assumption, relating certainly to some of the same years, do not agree with the rates last quoted, and are much more probable. There is only one other remarkable circumstance in the prices from the Collector's Books, to which I shall refer: Meal is charged at L.1 : 13 : 4 per boll, while the price of oats is only 10s. per boll. This is a most amazing difference. From all the statements, it appears that the price of meal exceeded that of oats much more than at the present day, when agriculture is so highly improved; but it is impossible to conceive, that the oats, in the period alluded to in the Collector's books, should be so deficient as not to yield much more than at the rate of a firlot of meal from a boll of oats. There are several other difficulties and inconsistencies in the statements which have been given. Keith takes no notice of these, and throws no light upon them: I leave it to the reader to account for them as he thinks most proper. I shall subjoin the prices of the rents drawn by the bishop of Aberdeen, for 1576, as taken from the records of that city, and these will be seen to agree very nearly with the prices scattered through the Book of Assumption. Wheat, L.1 per boll. Bear and meal, 10s. per boll. Oats, 6s. per boll. Mairts, L.1, 10s. each. Wedders, 5s. each. Poultry, 5s. per

doz. Swine, 7s. to 10s. each. Geese, 1s. each. Salmon, L.4 per barrel. Moorfowls, 4s. per doz. Capons, 5s. per doz. I need not remind the reader, that all the prices which have been stated are in Scots money, only one twelfth part of Sterling money, bearing the same denominations. Many curious reflections must be suggested by the statements, with regard to the degree of improvement, or local advantages of different parts of Scotland, and respecting the comparative value of money in these days and at present; but it is foreign to my purpose to enter upon the subject, and I am unwilling to extend this article by any attempt to illustrate it.

After converting the victual, &c. the whole thirds of benefices amounted, in the first year, to L. 72,491 : 13 : 3½ Sterling. This was disposed of by warrants subscribed by the Queen. The superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers, throughout the kingdom, received L. 24,231 : 17 : 7, besides the following sums, to four superintendents, and to John Knox: To the superintendent of Angus and Mearns, 5 ch. wheat, and 10 ch. bear; to the superintendent of Fife, 2 ch. wheat, 5 ch. bear, 2 ch. meal, 3 ch. oats; to the superintendent of Lothian, 2 ch. wheat, 4 ch. 5 b. bear, 1 ch. meal, 3 ch. 8 b. 2 f. 2 p. oats; to the superintendent of the West, 2 ch. wheat, 5 ch. bear, 3 ch. meal, 3 ch. 8 b. oats; and to John Knox, minister, 2 ch. wheat, 6 ch. bear, 4 ch. oats. One article of this discharge to the Collector is, L.1018, given by the Queen to some friars, and L. 754 : 3 : 11, given to a certain number of nuns. Yet, after all these burdens, there remained a very large proportion of the thirds, which, in terms of the acts of council, should have been conveyed to the royal treasury. Almost the whole of it, however, was exhausted in pen-

sions to persons about the court, or was never realized, from the thirds of several bishops, abbots, and priors having been remitted. There appears in the Collector's books only one or two sums granted for political purposes, and these not amounting to L. 10,000 Scots. By comparing the sum granted to the protestant church, with the salaries allotted to each minister, as specified in the course of this work, it appears that a very considerable part of that sum must have been allotted to readers and exhorters, a description of men soon superseded by the increasing number of ministers.

APPENDIX, No. XIII.

Letter from Randolph to Queen Elizabeth, dated at Edinburgh, the 7th of November 1564, and copied by Crawford, in Vol. I. of his Collection, from the original in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x.

"May it please your Majesty,

"The more I desire to serve your majesty in sort, as in duty I am bound, the more discontentment I find in myself, that all things succeed not your majesty's affairs as I would. How from time to time I have dealt with this queen, and others with whom it pleased her that I should confer, I have written as well as I can to Mr Secretary; by whom I trust that your majesty knoweth the effect of that which hath been said, and how far I have hitherto proceeded. Some things there are, that because they do

chiefly concern your majestie's self, I thought I would write them to no man else. The chiefest are these, which I know by others than by this queen's self: Some suspicion that she hath gathered that your majesty's persuasion to her not to marry in the houses of Austria and France, is to no other end than that you may enjoy yourself whom of these houses you like best. Whether by this it be meant either the Infanta of Spain, or Don Charles of Austria, I know not: for, for France, they are assured that there lacketh nothing but age sufficient that it is not ended. To this I have said, that your majestie ever had, and hath choice of them all, where you like best; and therefore needeth nothing to doubt, that by this queen impediment would rise to your majesty's will: but, as I thought rather, your majesty having no mind to marry at any time, and intending good unto this queen, would be loath that she should marry where her people should have misliking; as that of Queen Mary with Spain, or should be occasion of enmity, as that of herself with France was, or impoverishment of the realm, to take him that hath nothing, as some such as have been mentioned and spoken of, without any great good liking, as far as ever I could perceive.

"The other doubt is this, whether your majesty intendeth as much in this offer of my Lord Robert as by me is spoken, considering your majesty's own favour towards him; and therefore unlikely that ever your majesty will depart with him to any other, wherein she should be plainly abused, if that she gave her consent thereunto. And the most grievous of all is this, that if after many persuasions she could be brought to yield unto your majesty to be bestowed as you would, and she willing to accord unto your majesty's desire, touching my Lord Robert, that then your majesty might use the example of her, that she

would be content to take him, to persuade such of your majesty's realm that have misliking of it, that you should marry him yourself. To both these I have answered that there is no small injury done to your majesty to be judged of as to pretend that in word which was never meant. But most of all, that your majesty should be thought to go about to abuse any, much less such a princess, so near a kinswoman, and one of whom you have had so good liking. And where the people have offered, with most humble prayers unto your majesty, great soumes of money, that it might be found good unto your majesty to take him, there need no such coloured practices to be used. They ask me then the reason of your majesty's stay? To that I have said that I am ignorant; and in my conjecture, it is either that your majesty intendeth not to marry, or will not match yourself with your own subject. Of your majesty's disposition, they say that they can say nothing; but that your years, your beauty, your personage require not to be married, as well as these do in their mistress, they marvel. And to match with a subject they think it as unfit for her as for your majesty. To these I have said, that if there be any misliking that ever your majesty found in my Lord Robert, it was either for that he was not a king of a realm of his own, or a subject of some other prince, that worthily he might be called to be a king; where, sovereignty and vertue being met, felicity and prosperity might ensue to that kingdom that he shall possess. We have so far proceeded in these discourses, that also it hath been asked, what profite or commodity shall ensue to this queen if she should have him? I have in this advised them to follow the common course of all those that are marriage-makers, to know first what liking there is between the parties, and after enter in talk of the con-

ditions. Let us suppose, say they, that she will; then say I, that I have a perpetual peace to offer them, a firm amity to assure them of, which hitherto hath been none at all, or ever very uncertain: That I had a man to offer unto her, that I am assured, through the world, a fitter was not to be found for all respects. We marrie, say those, in these days, as well for lands and possessions as for virtue and qualities; for peace and amity it is as much to be desired on your part as ours: I grant it needful for us both (though their old shaken houses testify yet who have received the worst), and will them to be as careful of it for their part, that we fall not into the like, as we will be loath of ours. It is too sore, say they again, to bind us to one where so many good choices is to be had. I say, that where the best is offered there need no more choice. It were not amiss, say they, that she made her own choice. I say again, that seeing, in her choice she will but use the judgment and advice of others, she were best take him whom most men allow of; and yet in this she is not put from her choice, but a friendly advice given her to take the best. As good, say they, in your own realm, may be found as he. I will them to name him. It boteth not, say they, seeing, in so earnestly pressing the other upon us, you take away all hope of getting any man else. The Duke of Norfolk, saith one. I will them to name again, for that is not the man they mean. If that you know him, say they, you ought yourself to name him. I say that if they be not ashamed of him, I marvel why they do not name him: (But I know for certain, that the man they mean is the Lord Darnley.) They suit at this, to have him rather offered by your majesty than desired by themselves. How far they are from their purpose, your majesty both knows, and I am assured will

consider the unfitness of the match for greater causes than I can think of; of which the least will not be the loss of many a godly man's heart, that by your majesty enjoy now liberty of their country, and know not in how short a time they may lose the same, if your majesty give your consent to match her with such a one, as either by dissention at home, or lack of knowledge of God and his word, may persecute those that profess the same.

"Such like complaints I hear daylie: This horrible fear is so entered into their hearts, that the queen tendeth only to that, that some are willing to leave the same, others with their power to withstand it; the rest with patience to endure it, and to let God work his will. The coming hither of my Lady Lennox and her son is looked for. I dare not take upon me to give my advice, where I know * so far passeth mine; but always I am of the same opinion that I was of her husband, or rather worse. This further I thought fitt to come to your majesty's knowledge, that if she claim here the earldom of Angus, there will be a gap open to disprove a greater title that she pretendeth unto, nearer your majesty's self than is that which she seeketh for here: I attribute so much to the workers hereof, and know how far that they have already waited, that I trust she shall be all the days of her life, or any of hers, far enough from wearing of a crown.

"The Duke so standeth in doubt of himself, that he is sometimes in mind, either with leave, or without, to forsake his countrie; but for this, I believe he feareth more than he need: he hath many friends here that would be loath to see him brought to that point. Much of his hope is in your majesty's favour towards him, for the succour of himself and his house. This much from him I

* Some word seems here to be omitted.

am required to signify unto your majestie, with most humble recommendation of his service.

"The queen hath now determined that my Lord of Murray, and Lord of Lidington, shall be at Barwick, the 18th of this instant, to intreat of such matters as have been propounded unto her from your majesty; she is now desirous that they should come to some resolution, and hath willed them that all their doings tend to that end.

"How she is bent already towards my Lord Robert, I know not; I find that there are many here that wish it should take effect. And if I should credit all that is spoken, it shall stay only in your majestie's self. Mary, with all I know, that they look for no small matter to be offered unto them, as now in this conference I doubt not but it will appear. I find in my Lord of Murray a marvellous good will that any thing that is to your majesty's contentment should take place; but in this he is very loath to have to do. The matter is of weight, the issue uncertain, the burden not small, the danger great unto him, if ever after this, there should grow betwixt your majesty and his sovereign any misliking; or if in this she find not herself well used. How many also there are that would wish to see this matter quelled under his hands, your majesty doth sufficiently consider. Therefore, for his part, he doth most humbly pray your majesty, that how earnest soever he be in this cause, that to his mistriss's honour it may take effect; that how earnest soever he be to press or urge that which in his mistress's behalf or right he thinketh duty to do or say, that your majesty will rather count him the better servant unto his sovereign, than that he beareth not unto your majesty that good will of service that with duty to his sovereign he may. He insisteth also, that your majesty so far regardeth his good

will and mind, to the entertainment of a perpetual love and amity between the two realms, that whatsoever proceedeth from him to that end, your majesty will take in good part; and the more affectioned that he is thereto, your majesty will the more bear with him, if in all earnest sort he do seek the same. What is in the Lord of Lidington your majesty knoweth, for his wisdom to conceive whatsoever his mind is bent unto, to bring it to pass. I find him well affected to this cause, but to press her in any wise he will not; whatsoever she best liketh that he most alloweth. Some there are that would that I should believe that he liketh better of my Lord Darnly than any other; I have heard him at other times say much to the contrary; how he is newly affected I know not; nor see no cause why, except it proceedeth of his mistress's affection to establish this crown to her name again, whereunto she hath, beside her own desire, many that urge her thereunto, as the most famous act she can leave unto her posterity. I doubt not but his will is, to press us to the utmost that we are able to say; and I think not but his desire will be rather to know what will be the uttermost of your majesty's will towards his sovereign, than that we shall know assuredly what shall be her mind, or whereunto she will incline.

"To meet with such a match, your majesty knoweth what witt had been of it; how far he exceedeth the compass of one or two heads, that is able to govern a queen and guide a whole realm alone, your majesty may well think; how unfitt I am for my part, and how far he is able to go beyond me, I would that it were not as I know it to be. How well my Lord of Bedford thinketh of his own ability, I think that it be signified unto your majesty before this time by his own letters, whose care I know is greater in this than in any other that ever he had. Upon these oc-

casions I have taken this boldness thus to write, rather taking the blame upon me, thus much to trouble your majesty, than that any thing should be left unknown to your highness, that I could wish should come to your majesty's ears.

" Almighty God preserve your majesty's prosperous estate, send your majesty continual good health, and us some happy comfort, that shortly we may hear that which so long and oft in your majesty hath been desired, by whom we may hope to see of yourself a happy prince, to cutt off the care that now all men do take to see your majesty live a sole life."

This letter conveys much information, illustrating the state of parties, and the cabals at the period at which it was written. Notwithstanding the hypocrisy of Elizabeth, suspicions had even thus early begun to be entertained in Scotland, that her conduct towards Mary was directed, not by affection to that princess, or by regard to the happiness of her dominions, but by concern for her own comfort, or the gratification of the envy which she certainly cherished; and the manner in which Randolph replied to these insinuations was not calculated to efface them. In conformity with his instructions, he proposed Leicester as the husband of Mary, but he found himself encountered by a persuasion that Elizabeth intended to marry this nobleman herself, and was labouring to procure the consent of the Scotish queen to espouse him, merely that she might urge the determination of this princess, in proof that it would not be inconsistent with her own dignity to choose a man whom Mary would have accepted. Randolph endeavoured to wipe away this impression, and he tells his sovereign in what manner he proceeded; but it is plain from his letter, that he was sensible that he was advancing upon very delicate ground, and that he secretly was persuaded that the notion which he combated had

its foundation in truth. This much at least is certain, that he knew Leicester to be a favourite of Elizabeth, and accordingly he gratifies the queen by the most unbounded flattery towards this nobleman. I think this letter affords strong reasons for concluding that Murray and Lethington were at this time anxious to promote the marriage with Darnly, and were determined to support the dignity and the interest of their sovereign, in opposition to the insidious policy of Elizabeth. From Murray's former correspondence with the queen of England, he considered it as necessary to use the most marked expressions of respect for her determinations; but even these expressions, secretly and confidentially made to her minister, are not only limited to what he owed to his own queen, but are followed by plain intimations, that he would insist upon demands, having for their object to strengthen the connection between the two kingdoms; demands with which, from the mode in which he alludes to them, it is plain that he believed that Elizabeth would not be gratified. Randolph expressly says, that he had heard that Lethington would not urge the queen to act in this important concern contrary to her inclinations; that he would be more anxious to ascertain what Elizabeth would grant, than to give a full communication respecting the intentions of his sovereign. From the whole of the letter it may be inferred, that there was, on the part of the English queen, much ungenerous interference; that this was not acceptable to many of the chief men in Scotland; and that however Murray and his adherents afterwards opposed the queen's marriage with Darnly, this match was once considered by them as the most desirable for that princess.

APPENDIX, No. XIV.

Account of Mary's illness soon after the accident which befel the Earl of Bothwell. Taken from a MS. History of the Life of James the Sixth, the groundwork of Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, and some years ago printed under the inspection of Malcolm Laing, Esq.

"The queen being then at Jedburgh, (at the time of Bothwell's being wounded), and understanding the certaine report of this accident, was so highly grieved in heart, that she took no repose in body till she saw him, and therefore with all expedition addrest herself to a castle in Liddisdale, called the Armitage, where the said Earle lay for cureing of his wounds; and when she had considered her estate to be in great danger of life, immediately that same night she returned to Jedburgh, where, what for weariness of that sudden and long travel, and great distress of her mind for the said Earle, she contracted a burning corrupted feaver, which occupyed her in such a high degree, that her senses for the two part of the first day were diminished, but thereafter she convalesced a little. And finding her body opprest with sickness tending to death (as she thought), she caused send advertisement to all the kirks adjacent to pray for her, and in the mean time was resolved to render her spirit to God, and gave charge that her body should be buried amongst the rest of her predecessors. She desired God of his mercy to pardon her sins, to grant her a penitent and contrite heart for her offences, and that he would deall with her in mercy in respect of her weakness, and re-

mit a little of his judgement, although she had deserved the same as a miserable offender: and thanked his Majesty who had given her so large a time for repentance, praying effectuallie to give her constancie and perseverand in that catholick undoubted true faith and religion unto the end. Wherefore she, in presence of the nobles and gentry their convened, made confession, saying in Latine, "Credo," &c.

"Secondly, she recommended unto them unity of minds and quietness, for by discord all things are dissolved, and by concord they remaine haill and together. She recommended unto them the protection of her young son the prince, that he should be brought up in the fear of God; in honest and honourable society and perfection of manners; and to preserve him from people of corrupt manners, that may keep him from his duty towards God or the world, to the end he might live a godly and righteous prince above his people. She forgave all those that had offended her, and chiefly those ungrate persons whom she had promoted to high honour, and in particular her own husband King Henry; as likewayes the banished gentlemen who had highly grieved her, requiring, that in case they should be brought into the realm after her death, they should at least be debarred from access to the young prince for her request, and that they would procure some ease in conscience to those that do profess the catholick faith, because during her reign, she constrained none to exercise in religion, otherwayes than their conscience indicted them. She recommended unto them all her French servants, that they should be recompenced for their service; and namely, one Arnoldus Columbus. She recommended her amity to the king of France by his ambassadour then resident in Scotland, called Monsieur de la Croc,

and the protection of her son to his majesty, and the queen-mother of France; and that he (the ambassador), should interceed at his returne, in her name, to crave forgiveness of all offences, that either she had actually done, or might be supposed to have done; and that it should please the king to grant the revenues of a year of her dowry, after her decease, to the payment of her debts and servants fees."

This interesting account of the conduct of a young and accomplished princess, under the impression of immediate dissolution, exhibits her in the most amiable light; and had she at this period been removed from the world, she would have been regarded, through succeeding ages, with that deep sympathy which her melancholy history, and her ingratiating manners, were so well calculated to excite. Her resignation to the will of heaven, and the fervour with which she implored the divine mercy, shew that her religious impressions had not been effaced by the scenes through which she had passed, while her sincere attachment to the catholic faith, so earnestly expressed, leads us to lament, that even when seated on a throne, she was assailed by persecution. Her maternal tenderness, the anxiety which she felt for the pious and virtuous education of her infant son, is in harmony with all the best dictates of our nature,—places it beyond a doubt, that whatever might have been her errors, the admiration of what was good then existed strongly in her breast. The behaviour of her unhappy husband she keenly resented, and she accordingly specifies him amongst the ungrateful persons whom she forgave. The exiled nobles and gentlemen, whose savage atrocity had offended and shocked her, she also pardoned, but afraid that they might

contaminate the prince as they had done his father, she fervently implored that, if they returned to the kingdom, they should never be admitted into the presence of her son.

APPENDIX, No. XV.

Account of Darnly's death, from the last mentioned work.

After mentioning the baptism of the prince, the author of the MS. proceeds thus: "And, notwithstanding of this great triumph, with all the banquetting, sport, and pastime, that was among so noble personages, neither did King Henry come there, albeit he was in Stirling all the while, neither was he permitted, or required to come openly; and therefore he addrest himself to Glasgow, where his whole body brake out in an evil-favoured pustles, by the force of young age, that potently expelled the poyson that was given him to haste the end of his days. So the queen, whether it was for pity or hypocrisie (I will not dispute), took journey toward him to Glasgow, and remained by him for the space of ten days, and caused him to be transported to Edinburgh, where he was placed in a desert lodgeing, near the wall and faulxburg of the town, called the Kirke of Field, prepared for a wicked intent, as the malicious actors performed with their pestilent hands; perceiving that the poyson they had given him took no effect, devised this other purpose,—to lay trains of gunpowder about and within the walls, in great quantity; but first they came

in, by slight of false kies, quietly to the king's chamber, where he was reposing in bed, and his servant sleeping near by. First they strangled the king and then his servant; they cast their dead bodies out in a desert yaird, by a back-door which they had prepared before, fitt for the purpose, and then kindled their traine of gunpowder, which inflamed the timber of the whole house in such sort, and troubled so the wall thereof, that great stones, of the length of ten foot, were found distant from that house be the space of a quarter of a mile. This was devised to deceive the people, to make them believe that the house and bodies was expelled and demolished by the chance of sudden fire, and no other wayes; but Bothwell and his men were soon near hand by, to the end the wicked purpose should not faile to take effect, as, by the progress of this history, shall the better be known."

It is evident that the writer of the work from which the above account is taken, entertained some suspicion that the queen was not ignorant of the scheme against her husband's life; for, speaking of her journey to Glasgow, he says, "whether it was for pity or hypocrisie, I shall not dispute;" and that he believed that the unhappy king was lodged in the house in which the murder was committed, with a view to that atrocious crime being more easily perpetrated. Now, as Crawford pretended to convey the substance of this MS. his work should have contained the insinuation respecting the queen, and should have simply stated the above facts respecting the choice of the place in which Darnley was lodged. To shew with how little fidelity he performed his task, I shall insert here the passage in his book corresponding to the one last quoted from the MS.: "There was nothing wanting to compleat the universal joy (at the baptism of

the prince) but the presence of the king, who, though he was in Stirling, was so far from appearing in publick upon this solemn occasion (having perhaps stomached his late reception from the queen, at Jedburgh), that he went off privately to Glasgow, where he was suddenly seized with a dangerous illness, which was generally reported the effect of poyson. The queen was no sooner informed of his danger, than she hasted after him, and, notwithstanding her resentment of the past injury, was extremely moved to find him in so bad a condition, and waited very carefully upon him for the space of ten days; till the strength of nature, overcoming the venom of his disease, he was able to abandon that place, and travel (though slowly) to Edinburgh, the metropolis of the kingdom, where he might be better attended, and have the convenience of being served by the best physicians.

"When he came thither (being not perfectly recovered), he was lodged in the Kirk of Field, where the air was good, either to shun the noise of the court, or to discountenance those who had used them as the tool of their ambition and revenge in the murder of the secretary; or perhaps by the cunning contrivance of those who designed his death, which soon after followed: For, upon the ninth of February, the house in which he lay was blown up by gunpowder, and his body found at a considerable distance from the ruins." This passage unquestionably does not convey the same views to the mind as the passage from the MS. of which it is professed to be the translation; every thing unfavourable to Mary, and much that is said of Bothwell, is concealed; and it is difficult to avoid supposing that this was not unintentional; that the object of Crawford was to support his own ideas respecting this period of Scotish history, by representing

them as the same with those which were entertained by an intelligent observer of the events which, during that period, occurred. This was not acting candidly with the public; and even the most favourable supposition, that Crawford was not aware of the change of aspect which he gave to his author, shews how insidious are our prejudices, and how much steadiness and self-resolution it requires to escape from their influence.

APPENDIX, No. XVI.

Craig's explanation and defence of his conduct, in proclaiming the Queen and the Earl of Bothwell, taken from the Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 85—87.

It appears that much blame had been attached to Craig for publishing the banns, by those who were not acquainted with all the circumstances connected with their publication; and this intrepid and virtuous minister, unwilling to suffer under calumny and misrepresentation, addressed, to a General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in December 1567, the paper which is to compose this article of the Appendix. It is a very curious document, and the facts contained in it, we can have no doubt, are accurately stated, for it was approved by the assembly, and inserted in their records.

"To the end yat all yat feares God may understand my proceidings in yis matter (in the proclamation of the Queen and Bothwell), I shall shortlie declair quhat I did, and quhat moved me to defend ye same, leaving the finall judgement of all things to the kirk. First, Be ye requeste

of Mr Thomas Hepburne, in ye Queen's name, to proclaime hir with my Lord Bothwell, I plainlie refusit it, because he had not hir hand wreit, and also the constant bruit that my lord had ravishit hir, and keipt hir in captivitie. Upon Wednesday nixt, the Justice-clerk brought me a wreiting subscryvit with hir hand, bearing in effect, yat she was nather ravishit nor zit reteinit in captivitie, and yrfore chargit me to proclaime. My answer was, I durst proclaime na bandis (and chiefflie sick) without consent and command of ye kirk. Upon Thursday nixt, the kirk, efter lang reasoning with ye Justice-clerk, and amangis the brethren, at lenth concludit yat ye Queen's mind suld be publishit to hir subjects, thrie nixt preiching dayes. Bot because the General Assemblie had inhibit all sick marriages, we protestit yat they wald neither solemnize, neither zit approve yat marriage, bot wald onlie declare the princessis mynd, leaving all doubtes and dangers to ye counsellors, approvers, and performers of ye marriage. And sa, upon Fryday nixt, I declarit the haill mynd and progres of ye kirk, desireing everie man in Godis name to discharge his conscience before ye secret counsell; and to give baldness to utheris, I desyred of the L. their present tyme and place to speik my judgement before ye parties, protesting, gif I wer not heard and setisfiet, I athet wald desist from proclaiming, or ells declair my mynd publictlie before ye kirk. Thairfore, being admittit efter noone before my L. in ye counsell, I layed to his charge ye law of adulterie, ye ordinance of ye kirk, ye law of ravishing, ye suspicion of collusion betwix him and his wyfe, the suddane devorcement and proclaiming within ye space of four dayes, and last, the suspicioun of the kingis death, quhilk his marriage wald

confirme. Bot he anserit nathing to my satisfactioun, so heirfore, eftir mony exhortatiouns, I protestit yat I culd not bot declair my mynd publictlie to ye kirk. Thairfore, upon Sonday efter, I had declairit quhat thai had done, and how thai wald proceid, quhidder we wald or nocht. I tuik hevin and eirth to witnes yat I abhorrit and detestit yat marriage, because it was odious and sclanderous to ye warld; and seing ye best part of ye realme did approve it, ather be flatterie or be yr silence, I desyrit ye faithfull to pray earnestlie yat God wald turne it to ye comfort of ys realme, yat thing quhilk yai intendit agains reasone and guid conscience. I, becaus I hard sum persones gangand agains me, usit thir reasons for my defenses. First, I had brokin na law be proclaiming of yr persones at yair request. Secundlie, Gif thair marriage wes sclanderous and hurtfull, I did weill for warrning all men of it in tyme. Thirdlie, As I had of dewtie declairit to yame ye princes will, sa did I faithfullie teach yame, by word and example, quhat God cravit of yame. Bot, upon Tuesday nixt, I wes callit before ye counsell, and accusit that I had passit the boundis of my commissioun, calling ye princessis marriage odious and sclanderous before ye warld. I answerit, ye boundis of my commissioun, quhilk wes ye word of God, guid lawes and natural reassoun wes able to prove quhatsaever I spak, zea, yat yair awin consciences culd not bot bear witnes yt sick a marriage wald be odious and sclanderous to all yt suld hear of it, gif all the circumstances yreof were richtlie considderit; bot q^{ll} I was coming to my probatioun, my L. pat me to silence, and send me away. And sa upon Wednesday, I first repeattit and ratefeit all things before spoken, and eftir exhortit ye brethren not to accuse me gif yat marriage proceidit, bot rather yam-

selfis, quha wald not for feir oppoune yamselfis, but rather schairpit yair tounges agains me, because I admonishit yame of yr dewtie, and sufferit not ye cankrit consciences of hypocrites to sleep at rest, protesting at all tymes to yame, yat it was not my proclaiming, bot rather yr silence, yat gave any lawfulnes to yat marriage; for, as ye proclaiming did tak all excuse fra yame, sa my privat and public compurgatioun did saife my conscience sufficientlie. And yis farre I proceidit in ys marriage, as ye kirk of Edinr. lordes, erles, and barrones, yat herd, will bear me witnes: Now, seing I have bein schamefullie sclanderit, baith in England and Scotland, be wrang informatioun, and fals report of yame yat haittit my ministrie, I desyre, first, ye judgement of ye kirk, and nixt, ye same to be publishit, yat all men may understand quhidder I be wordie of sick an bruit or not."

This paper sufficiently establishes what was the public opinion respecting Bothwell's marriage with the Queen, even before it took place. The assurance subscribed by that unhappy princess, declaring that no violence had been offered to her, and that she was under no constraint, is one of the many proofs amounting, when conjoined, to moral certainty, that she was not reluctant to unite herself to the profligate nobleman whom she should have viewed with abhorrence.

APPENDIX, No. XVII.

Order from the Earl of Murray, the Regent, to the Comptroller, respecting the stipends of ministers, issued before the parliament in December 1567, taken from the Dun papers.

" Comptrollar,

" It is our will, and we discharge you off all melling or intrometting with ony thriddis of benefices, assignit to the ministers for thair stependis, of the thrie-score sax zeiris crope, bayth of silver and victuallis; but suffer and permit thame and thair collector to intromet with, sell, and dispone, the same at thair plesir, conform to thair assignation, without ony stop or troubland of you. And gif ye haif intromettit or sauld aireddy ony pairt of the said victualle, that ze caus the same to be restorit and randerit agane to the saidis ministers and thair collectors, to be sauld and disponit be yame as thai think expedient; quhilk sall be thankfullie allowit to you in your comptis be the auditors thareof, quhome we charge to defulk and allow the same, keipand thir presentis for zour and thair warrand. Subscrivit with our hand, at Edinbro, the second day of November 1567.

(Signed) " JAMES, Regent."

APPENDIX, No. XVIII.

Remarks upon some passages in the Second Volume of "Caledonia, by George Chalmers, Esq." relating to the treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, as it affected Scotland.

In this work, which I did not see till I had finished my history, Mr Chalmers, the intelligent and respectable author, endeavours to prove, that the French commissioners had no powers to consent to any arrangements in favour of the protestant lords, and that the concessions which all historians, with the exception of Whitaker, have represented as made by these commissioners, were in fact never made, but were imposed upon the credulity of mankind by the Lord James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and Maitland of Lethington, with the connivance of Sir William Cecil.

Notwithstanding the authority of a writer who has paid much attention to Scotish history, authority, however, which, in the present case, is not strengthened by his violent prejudices against the reformers in Scotland, and even, it would seem, against the reformation itself, as it was introduced into that kingdom, all the circumstances connected with the negotiation for restoring peace between France and England, and tranquillity to Mary's native dominions, appear to me to place it beyond a doubt, that the bishop of Valence and Monsieur Randan, must have been authorised to make concessions to the protestants, and that there is sufficient evidence for the authenticity and genuineness of those concessions which they are generally believed to have sanctioned.

Although the French court was long desirous to pro-

ceed with much severity against the Scotish nobles and those who adhered to them, men who were stigmatized by that court as guilty of rebellion, yet very powerful reasons, which I have stated, produced at length a most earnest desire for peace with Elizabeth, who had espoused the cause of the lords, and for terminating the commotions which distracted Scotland. Now, these objects could not be obtained without pardoning those attached to the Congregation, and acceding to some of the demands which they had repeatedly made; for the ministers of Elizabeth had uniformly declared what the queen herself, on the 16th of April, wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, that they never intended that any treaty should be had with the French, but with the knowledge and consent of the Scotch, neither that any thing should be concluded but to the benefit of Scotland. (Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 291.) Of this determination the French council was fully aware; and accordingly, De Sevre had much discussion respecting Scotland, while Sir Nicholas Throkmorton was constantly pressing this subject upon the Cardinal of Lorrain, and stating, with full force, the views of his sovereign with regard to it. But a still more decisive proof that the French court was sensible of the necessity of terminating the troubles in Scotland, is furnished by the mission of the bishop of Valence, who arrived in England about the middle of March. After, in vain, attempting to alter the resolutions of Elizabeth, he requested permission to go into Scotland, "to travell betwixt the queen-dowager and the Scots, for an accord and pacification of their griefes." —(Haynes, Vol. I. p. 274). He did accordingly enter Scotland in the course of the ensuing month, and made very liberal proposals to the lords, although he was not successful in the object of his embassy.—(Forbes's Full

View of the Transactions of Queen Elizabeth, Vol I. p. 488, 489). In pursuance of the policy which dictated the mission of this prelate, Francis and Mary issued from Amboise, on the 1st of April, instructions to him, in conjunction with the bishop of Amiens and Monsieur de la Brosse, referring to the situation of Scotland. By this commission, after narrating the many attempts which had been made to recal the insurgents to the duty which they owed to their sovereign, the French king and queen gave full power to the persons named in it, to assure the Scotish lords, that, if they would submit to the queen, full pardon would be given to them; and they then thus proceeded: "Pour la quelle mieulx establir, s'il est besoing traicter aucunes choses avec nostre tres chere et tres amée bonne seur et cousine la Royne d'Angleterre s'assembleront nos dictz deputez avec ceulx de nostre dicte bonne seur aians pouvoir suffisant quant a ce en tel lieu propre et commode qu'ilz adviseront et dont ilz se pourront accorder, pour negotier traicter et accorder sur ce qu'il sera d'une part et d'autre proposè tout ce qu'ilz verront et congnoistront estre raisonnable, convenable et à propos pour nostre service et bien de noz affaires, selon la fiance que nous avons en eulx encore qu'il y eust chose qui requist mandement plus especial qu'il n'est porté par ces presentes. Promettans en bonne foy et parolle de Roy avoir pour agreable ferme et stable tout ce que par les dictes Evesques de Valence et d'Amyens, et Seigneur de la Brosse, et les deux in l'absence ou empeschement de l'autre, aura esti faict en cest endroit; et le tout ratifier par noz lettres patentes si besoing est toutes fois et quantes que requis en serons, sans jamais aller ne venir au contraire en quelque sort que ce soit: car tel est nostre plaisir." This commission (Forbes, p. 397, 398,) was

sent to Scotland by Chaperon; and although, from some apprehension of the lords, that a treaty might embarrass their affairs, it was not probably delivered to the bishop, (Forbes, p. 460), yet it plainly shews what were the intentions of the French court at the time of its being composed. The anxiety for peace having increased in the French council, and it being found necessary to commence a negotiation with Elizabeth, a new commission, dated at Chenonceau, the 2d of May, was directed to the persons mentioned in the former one, with the addition of Monsieur D'Osell, and the Sieur de Randan, alluding, indeed, chiefly to the commencement of a treaty with the English queen, but which, having for its object the restoration of tranquillity, must have been written under the impression, that offers similar to those which had been made or insinuated to the Scotish lords, would come under consideration of the commissioners in the course of the discussions about to take place. If this was not the case, we must suppose that, at a time when France was most anxious for peace, and making uncommon sacrifices to secure it, the commissioners appointed to treat were not enabled to do that, without which, the ministers who employed them knew that peace was impossible.

That the matter was viewed by the members of the English council in the light in which I have represented it, is evident from a letter of Cecil to Throkmorton, dated the 22d of May, in which he tells that ambassador, "Randan hath brought a commission, dated the 2d of May, directed to the bishops of Valence and Amiens, &c. authorizing them all, or two of them, to treat and accord all things;" and he adds, a little after, "we only seek surety, which dependeth upon the liberty of Scot-

land."—(Forbes, p. 460.) Now, this confidential letter to Throkmorton was written after the arrival of Randan, after he had delivered his private instructions to Elizabeth, with a letter to her from the French king and queen, alluding to certain communications which he was instructed to make to her.—(Forbes, p. 319). When we consider all these circumstances, and add to them the fact, that the French commissioners, men admitted by all parties to have enjoyed the confidence of their court, and to have been possessed of the greatest talents, and most consummate diplomatic skill and address, actually did treat respecting the state of Scotland, devoting the greater part of the time which they spent with Cecil and Wotton in arranging what related to it, it may, I think, be with much reason concluded, that these men were authorised and instructed to promise pardon to the lords, and in general, to do with respect to them what was conceived necessary for the restoration of peace.

This conclusion would hold good, even if it were admitted that the bishop of Valence and Randan acted solely upon the commission dated at Chenonceau; but the fact is, that there was another commission addressed to them by the French king and queen, dated at Remorentin, on the 2d of June, in which the line of conduct to be pursued by them in relation to Scotland, is marked out, and a pledge is given to ratify what should be done by the commissioners. This commission, however, Mr Chalmers maintains to be a palpable forgery, upon this ground,—that he does not see what was the use of issuing it, and hence, that it is reasonable to infer, that it was not issued by the French sovereigns, but was the production of the Scotish lords. "That it was useless," Mr Chalmers says, "is evident, because every thing for

which it provides could have been done in consequence of the commission from Chenonceau." Now, as the commission of June certainly authorised concessions to the protestant lords, this remark seems to imply, that, independently of it, there were powers to concede; in other words, that Mr Chalmers, when he made the observation, was convinced that the opinion for which he had been contending is erroneous. But, returning to his argument, it may be observed, that if the circumstance of there being no apparent reason for issuing the commission of June is a good ground for concluding that the French sovereigns did not issue it, upon the same principle of arguing, it may, *à fortiori*, be inferred, that it could not be a forgery of the lords, because there are numberless reasons against supposing that they could be guilty of forging it. If they did forge it, this must have been done after the conclusion of the treaty, for they could not hope to impose so clumsy a cheat upon the French commissioners; and of course, after they had obtained the concessions, whatever they were, which were really made to them. Now, what could be the only effect of such a forgery? plainly to invalidate those concessions, which we know had imparted to them the utmost satisfaction. By conjoining the treaty, or the agreement in their favour, with a spurious document, which could be at once detected, they held themselves up to infamy, and put it in the power of the French court to retract or cancel all which had been granted. Although, then, we should suppose, that the Scotish lords were destitute of all honesty and principle, a supposition not surely rashly to be made, they could not, unless they were completely infatuated, or astonishingly weak, which they were not, have done what was so manifestly prejudicial

to their own cause. To sum up the argument upon this point, it must be stated, that, so far from it being improbable that the French court would send the commission of June, nothing could be more natural. This commission combines the two objects which were to be accomplished, and the language respecting Scotland is almost exactly that which had been used in the instructions from Amboise,—certainly no small proof of the authenticity of this document. The error respecting the length of Mary's reign which is to be found in it, was much more likely to be committed in France than in Scotland, by a person unacquainted with the early history of that princess, than by Murray or Maitland, who must have perfectly known the precise year of her birth, and consequently the duration of her reign. This circumstance, therefore, appears to be in favour of the opposite side of the question from that which Mr Chalmers adduced it to support.

But, admitting what I think has been proved, that the bishop of Valence and Randan had powers to make arrangements respecting Scotland, and that the king and queen of France had bound themselves, by the honour of a sovereign, to confirm and ratify these arrangements, Mr Chalmers further maintains, or seems to maintain, for there is considerable obscurity in all his reasonings upon this subject, that the concessions which are commonly supposed to have been made by the French commissioners, were, in fact, never made by them, but must be ascribed to the same source from which he had derived the instructions of the 2d of June.

There is in the Cotton Library a copy of the concessions subscribed by the French deputies, and annexed to it is the following note: "This is a true copy of the ori-

ginal, conferred and collationed." Subscribed, James Stewart, Ruthven, W. Maitland; and on the back the paper is entitled by Cecil with his own hand, "Articles of accord inter Regem et Reginam Francie et Scotie, ac nob. et populum Scotiæ." This is certainly very strong evidence for the authenticity and genuineness of the document; but Mr Chalmers considers the attestation of the Scotish nobles as entitled to no credit, because, having forged the instructions pretended to have been sent from France in June, it was probable that they had also forged the concessions by which these instructions are accompanied. If the reasoning in the former part of this article be correct, the argument is confuted; and it may well be asked, what could induce Cecil, a man of distinguished eminence and integrity, not only to attest as true, what he knew to be false, but to lodge, amongst the public papers of the kingdom, what would have been immediately brought forward to prove his dishonesty. Indeed, the idea that such men as Cecil, the prior of St Andrews, Ruthven, and Maitland, had submitted to the meanness and the guilt of forgery, where the concealment of the crime was hopeless or impossible, is in such direct contradiction to the principles and rules which usually determine human conduct, that nothing but the most direct and incontrovertible proof can be sufficient for establishing it. The whole proof, however, is in favour of their integrity. From the article in the treaty between Elizabeth and the French sovereigns, which I have inserted in the Appendix, the genuineness of which never has been disputed, it is evident that concessions were to be made to the lords; from the correspondence of Cecil during the progress of the negotiations, correspondence which has been published by Haynes, it ap-

pears, that the proposed concessions agreed with those certified by the prior and his friends. Knox has given, in his history, the substance of the accord, as he calls it, agreeing also with the attested copy, and, from numerous incidental expressions in the private correspondence of the statesmen of these times, it is apparent, that the agreement with the lords was what these lords stated it to be. And to conclude the positive proof, the agreement was proclaimed immediately after it was finished, and was anxiously communicated to all who were interested in what it contained. Now, it was scarcely possible, after all this, to impose a forgery upon the world. The people of Scotland would have detected the fraud; some of the nobles surely would have been virtuous enough to regard it with honest indignation; and the French commissioners must have remonstrated against a deception in which their official character was so deeply implicated. They, however, were silent; and, amidst all the correspondence which took place with regard to the treaty, not the slightest insinuation was made by Mary, or any of her adherents, that Cecil had acted dishonourably, or that a false document had been substituted for the one which had been duly sanctioned. Keith, who had every inclination to undermine the authority of the parliament 1560, could not take the ground which Mr Chalmers has chosen, but he honestly writes, "We have sufficient ground to be assured that certain concessions were granted by the French commissioners to certain petitions presented to them by the nobility and people of Scotland."—p. 137.

Let us now attend to what Mr Chalmers has urged to invalidate this striking evidence. He argues against the genuineness of the concessions, because they were not

attached to the treaty between England and France, and because they are not signed by the English commissioners, but solely by the French. The two objects which the deputies of the respective sovereigns had to accomplish, restoration of peace between France and England, and of tranquillity to Scotland, were distinct; and if the bishop of Valence and Randan had not, from jealous regard to the honour of Francis and Mary, declined entering into a direct treaty with men whom they represented to be rebels, no allusion would have been made to the Scotish insurgents in the treaty with Elizabeth. It was, however, agreed that the insurgents, as they were denominated, should present their requests in a separate paper, and that an article should be inserted in the treaty with England, binding the king and queen of France to grant these requests. The whole of the transaction thus plainly shews, that the concessions made to the lords were purposely not engrossed in the English treaty, or even conjoined with it. And there was no occasion for the signature of the English negotiators. From them the Scotish deputies had no opposition to apprehend; they therefore addressed their demands to the bishop of Valence and Randan, who, upon esteeming them reasonable, testified their acquiescence by their subscription; thus rendering the requests of the lords a legal document, with respect to which there could be no doubt or dispute. And this document was naturally preserved by the party who had presented it, and whose future situation it determined, while copies of it would of course be taken by the commissioners from England and France. That this was the case, may be inferred from a letter of Cecil to Elizabeth, in which, after detailing the leading articles of the agreement, he says, "the better declaration

whereof we will make to your majesty at our return." The form, then, in which the copy of the agreement lodged in the Cotton Library appears, so far from invalidating the genuineness of that copy, tends, in my estimation, very much to strengthen it, because the mode of its being procured and certified, is precisely that which anxiety to obtain it in its most accurate state would have suggested.

Mr Chalmers justly observes, that it bears the date of the 3d of July, a day or two before Cecil wrote that matters were not finally settled. But this does not appear to me to be of any weight. An erroneous date, under some circumstances, must weaken the authority of the paper to which it is attached; but it is obvious, in the present case, that the day of final agreement was perfectly known, and that it is not likely that such men as are alleged to have been concerned in the forgery, would have committed a blunder which any one of them was able at once to correct, and which they must have known would be instantly detected. The circumstance of this date may be satisfactorily explained by supposing, what the whole progress of the negotiation renders almost certain, that the demands of the lords had been extended several days before they were subscribed by the French ministers, and Cecil may have noted the day on which, in this shape, he saw them. The agreement itself bears that it was signed on the 6th, which corresponds with Cecil's letter above-mentioned; it is his note on the back of the agreement which specifies the 3d of July. But Mr Chalmers argues against the concessions, because they are not to be found in Leonard's Recueil, where there is a copy of the treaty of Edinburgh, nor in a very full, curious, and useful collection of treaties and other instru-

ments between Scotland and France, from early till late times, which he saw in the Brit. Mus. Bibl. Harl. No. 1244. Even although no account of such silence could be given, arguments of this nature cannot destroy clear positive evidence, and are in general entitled to very little attention. But it is to be recollected, that the concessions were not in the form of a treaty, there being no direct negotiation between the French sovereigns and their discontented subjects in Scotland, and hence could not be engrossed in any collection of treaties. They were, however, alluded to in the treaty with Elizabeth, and the clause of allusion is uniformly recorded. The manner in which the whole business was conducted, taken in conjunction with the secret intentions of the French court, shews that the agreement would not be permitted to be inserted amongst the official papers of France, and this may explain why it is not to be found in the collections seen by Mr Chalmers. From a careful consideration of the evidence on both sides, it appears to me to be fully established, that the king and queen of France were solemnly pledged to ratify and confirm whatever was done by their commissioners in relation to Scotland, and that the concessions to which so frequent reference has been made, are the concessions sanctioned by the bishop of Valence and Randan. Now, one of these concessions related to the holding of a parliament, and it thus concludes: "And this assembly shall be as valid, in all respects, as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of the king and queen." When we conjoin this strong language with the language used in the commissions given by Francis and Mary from which it is derived, there can, I should imagine, be little doubt, that the decision of the parliament, by

which it declared itself to be a legal parliament, was a sound decision, and that the strenuous advocates of Mary do not consult the integrity and honour of that princess in the vehement opposition which they have made to a meeting of the estates, which, whether we regard the numbers who attended it, or the subjects upon which it deliberated, was one of the most respectable and important in the annals of Scotish history. Independently of the legal ground on which it has been rested, it might be defended upon those general principles which apply to all governments under such circumstances as those in which the government of Scotland was then placed; but I have adverted to the reasoning of Mr Chalmers, from the earnest desire to apply to the investigation of the subject, those just rules of evidence which are sometimes too much neglected in historical disquisitions, and from the wish to wipe away from some of the most eminent defenders of the reformation, and of the political freedom which accompanied or followed its introduction, imputations which would have blasted their reputation, and presented a view of public depravity, which every feeling of genuine patriotism must lead us to regard with horror.

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